

UNORTHODOX ESSAYS

BY
Professor Dev
with a foreword
by
Humayun Kabir

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INTRODUCTION

I believe that a formal introduction is not necessary. The book should suffice.

This is an age of paper. So much is being published and re-published that I have always felt that we must write only when it is absolutely necessary. This quantification of publishing material is a hindrance to promoting clarity of thought and understanding. But I have also committed the same offence for which I apologize to those who share my belief.

Nothing is new under the sun, said Solomon. This book is no exception to this statement. I have generously taken the assistance of many sources—books, journals, and brochures. But the newness of this book lies in the fact I have arranged, modified, and extended the available data from my own point of view, which to say the least without being considered proud, is definitely unorthodox and refreshing. I am a non-conformist. I do not accept the current notions of progress by reckless technological advancement and centralism—political or economic. I should consider my efforts amply rewarded if these essays could make some of us reconsider some of the existing pet prejudices and irrational preferences for certain 'modern' ideas and notions about technology and social values.

Due to the circumstances under which the book has been published and my own inexperience, some minor errors have crept in. I apologize to the discerning reader for them.

I am deeply thankful to Mr. O. C. Sood and Mr. V. A. Parashar for their willing assistance in typing out the manuscript in a very short time. I feel greatly indebted to Gautam, my younger brother, for his help in getting this book ready in time. And above all, I could not have

ever finished this book, without the inspiration of my wife who went through all the essays, corrected them and gave valuable suggestions. How many lonely hours she had to spend, while I worked on these essays, this I know very well. I thank her for this co operation.

15 August, 1957
New Delhi

—DEV

FORWORD

I have read Prof. Dov's *Unorthodox Essays* with interest and I hope, profit. I do not think he will claim for his book originality or any new insight, but they have a certain value in reflecting the reactions of an intelligent and widely read man to many of the problems of the present age. He has given the title "*Unorthodox Essays*" to his book and it is a commentary on the fluctuations which characterise human thought that many will regard his essays as rather conventional in their outlook and treatment. It is these constant changes in the fashions of human thought which give significance to individual musings on perennial problems. Professor Dov has said that his main purpose is to make his reader reconsider some of the prejudices and preferences of the modern man. If he succeeds in his purpose and encourages young students to read widely—and not merely the authors whom he has mentioned—it will be a distinct service to the cause of liberal thought and rational outlook in the younger generation.

—*Humayun Kabir*

I WONDER

It is very odd that we wish to build and build and build it at the same time look forward to the possible destruction of all that we build. The destruction may externally be through war but what is perhaps more dangerous is the inner destruction of the mind and spirit, after which the destruction of the outer emblems of the mind and spirit may follow. Is it, I wonder, some resultant of the growth of Industrial Revolution that is over reaching itself? Have we lost touch with the roots that give strength to a race, humanity or the individual just as a city dweller, perhaps, loses touch with the soil and sometimes even with the sun, living an artificial life in comfort and even in luxury? He lacks something that is vital to the human being. So whole races begin more and more to live an artificial life, cut off, if I may say so, from the soil and the sun. Is that not so? These ideas trouble me. This growth of a mechanical civilization, which has obviously brought great triumphs and helped the world so much, gradually affects the man and the mind which produced the machine to help itself gradually becomes a slave of that machine and we progressively become a mechanically minded race.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

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SOCIETY AND SCIENCE

Science is to be admired because it gives us power over nature, and the power comes wholly from technique.

—*Russell*

"Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, but the real task is to alter it."¹ Long before Marx pronounced in these words the imperitiveness of altering the world as he found it, science had already begun this task. And if that prophet of revolt were to be re-born, he will find himself in an altogether new society which has come into existence as a result of the silent revolution science has been working out in the minds of people, in the factories, and in the laboratories all the world over. Science has out-stripped Marxism in respect of its power, if not its passion, to alter the world.

Scientific technology has an incredibly powerful effect on society. As a new technique in industry and war, and as a means to control environment, it has brought about fundamental changes in social, political and economic spheres. It has brought into being a "great society" which is confronted with the tremendous possibilities of measureless prosperity and immeasurable self-injury.

The scientific outlook, which does not accept anything for granted unless it is verified by observation or experiment, and which is characterized by a spirit of disinterested curiosity, has also profoundly affected our traditional beliefs by providing us with incisive instruments of analysis and enquiry, which we have wielded

with skill to detrone the respect for unsupported authority and to shake off the sway of the dogma, superstition, and blind acceptance in their old version. It has also invaded other branches of human learning such as politics, history, and economics to our advantage as well as disadvantage.

science its scope and nature

✓ Therefore, science performs two functions: it enables us to do things and it enables us to know things. "Science is a dynamic undertaking directed to lowering the degree of empiricism involved in solving problems, or is a process of fabricating a web of inter connected concepts and conceptual schemes arising from experiment and observations and fruitful of further experiment and observation." Science cannot answer the eternal "why" of things. It can only explain the "how" of things, and can give us an account of certain aspects of existence, but not the total vision of the unknown. It can deal with verifiable predictables only. It can analyse and explain cosmic processes from a particular angle. It is knowledge by separation. Its sphere of operation is all such experience which is sensorial. It is, therefore, concerned primarily with matter, which it seeks to know by its properties instead of defining it as such.

But it may be asked, is this a unique feature of contemporary science? The Babylonians and the Egyptians applied their rudimentary knowledge of geometry and astronomy to meet the practical needs of an agricultural population to measure time and space. It may be argued that science as a technique is not an entirely unique factor. Similarly, the Greeks considered science as an autonomous activity. It was almost a passion with them to know for the sake of knowing—'to follow knowledge like a sinking star, beyond the utmost bound of human thought'. There was a platonic search for ultimates. The Vedas and the Upanishads are other examples of this irrepressible quest of the human spirit to know.

These attempts of the ancients differ considerably from those of contemporary science. The Greek passion for knowledge was devoid of the desire to use the results of knowledge for solving problems. Moreover, they employed the deductive method to acquire knowledge. The Babylonians and the Egyptians were concerned with only those scientific problems, that had a direct bearing on practical affairs. "They had apparently shown little, if any, disinterested curiosity in the workings of nature. They based no speculations on their scientific discoveries, which were incorporated into their religious and philosophical schemes, and were interpreted in accordance with their religious and philosophical principles."³

"But modern scientific thought is essentially power-thought—the sort of thought whose purpose—conscious or unconscious is to give power to the possessor"⁴ by enabling him to understand and control facts. The dynamic character of scientific thought renders it a first class solvent of tradition and non-scientific belief. Science has the capacity to exceed itself. It does not treat with finality even its own conclusions. It deals with them with the same ruthless iconoclastic fervour with which Mahmud of Ghazni destroyed the Temple of Somanth. This outlook generates self confidence and strength; it liberates the mind, and extends the horizons of man's control over nature.

However, the scientific method has not proved to be an open sesame to lift the curtain of the mystery, which surrounds life and universe. Its strongest point is its capacity to explain and interpret the material universe. But it cannot satisfactorily deal with life, because a living organism is an organic whole, and not a sum of its parts. Life and living processes cannot be explained and comprehended in the laboratories by test-tubes and pipettes. You cannot weigh them in a balance, or see them under a microscope. They are made of a stuff which is difficult to verify and predict. Science has not yet been able to account for the "wholeness" of things and individuality. Even if every bodily activity of the

living beings was explained in terms of physical and chemical changes, we should still feel that it is not a satisfactory explanation. We have learnt the art of division rather than of unification. We know more and more of less and less. We have learnt to divide, and divide, and further and further divide, and still further subdivide without having made a genuine attempt to cultivate the art of acquiring the necessary vision, which will enable us to re-construct these segments into an organic whole. We know almost everything that is desired to be known about the numerous isolated elements. We do not have a sense of purpose, intention, and value,⁵ which alone can enable us to rebuild the dismantled whole. We have known a million bits of truth, but have failed to find their right relation to each other. We suffer from segmentalism and fragmentation. The methods of science limit the area over which science can conveniently and confidently operate.

As a practice, scientific research proceeds by simplification of reality. "It is generally assumed by men of science, at any rate as a working hypothesis, that any concrete occurrence is the resultant of a number of causes, each of which, acting separately might produce some different result from that which actually occurs, and that the resultant can be calculated, when the effects of the separate causes are known. The principle that causal laws can be separated and then recombined, is in some degree essential to the procedure of science, for it is impossible to take account of everything at once or to arrive at causal laws unless we can isolate these at a time." ⁶ The first step of this simplification is a process of abstraction. The scientist is to deliberately select and abstract from the total element of experience and observation. From the total wealth of impressions received from nature, the scientist, fastens upon some which lend themselves to measurement, and to explanation in terms of antecedent causes rather than of purpose, intention, and values.⁷

social science and the scientific method

The tremendous success of this method in dealing

with the material world has inspired some people to adopt it to deal with human questions

Everywhere there is a mania to see everything in abstractions or generalities. Abstraction has left the desks, studies, and laboratories where it was hatched. It has made its way into life, politics, and history. We have started applying laboratory techniques to human situations. 'The abstracted view of human society and human problems was further strengthened by the statistical approach. The Belgian statistician, Quetelet, was the first to replace concrete men with abstract numbers. He succeeded in his task by leaving out everything that distinguishes one individual from another. The concept of the 'average man' was born. It led certain thinkers to express all bodily, mental, and psychological faculties in simplified numbers. Man was transformed into a digit. As a result of the rise of this scientific method of abstraction and simplification, man and his problems are being expressed abstractly, mechanistically, and numerically. The living man who loves, dreams, suffers, and enjoys does not exist for the social scientist, who has transformed all living things into dead matter, froze all forms into abstract figures and muddled all the natural glowing colours of life into 'grey theory'. The process of fragmentation of human personality has gone to such an extent that we can hardly find in their studies a full blown, filled out specimen of a whole, live, and unique human being. We have created un-dimensional cartoon—strips of "economic man", "biological man", "sociological man", "pathological man" and "average man". We have 'killed' the unique and the whole man by applying the scientific methods of abstraction on the presumption that the mechanistic causation is the only type of causation by which we can know the world.

It would not have mattered, if the social scientists were content only with acquiring this specialized knowledge. On the contrary, social changes were planned and carried out on the basis of these simplified versions or cartoonist's view of human personality. For instance,

the concept of "economic man" lead to a brand of society—whether capitalistic or socialistic or communistic—in which the value of man deflated, and too much stress was laid on material prosperity and production. One of the basic causes of the social crisis of our times is that we have given to ourselves a set of social values which do not respect the uniqueness of the whole individual. Society has become the absolute domain of economic forces. Just as a physicist considers that all the atoms, of which matter is composed of, are identical and similar, so also the social scientist considers that human beings do not have an individuality. They transfer the mechanistic conception of "characterless uniformity" to human beings. In that case the society ceases to be a living organism but becomes an aggregate of numbers. An integrated concept of human personality and human situation is the greatest need of our times. It is imperative to reaffirm our faith in the uniqueness of the individual, and to give to ourselves a set of institutions, which respect and preserve this uniqueness. A society based on the wholistic view of man's personality can be stable and peaceful.

the scientific technology and society

Undoubtedly the social effects of scientific techniques have been very significant and numerous. But the rapidity, with which these have entered into individual and social life, (without having allowed for sufficient time to develop certain correctives) has created a situation whose awful seriousness has shattered our confidence in technology as a means to a better life. Mankind has not reached the El Dorado of the dreams of early 19th century enthusiasts, who were intoxicated by the heady wine of the initial successes of industrialization.

Our civilization is on trial, and in this hour of crisis it would be suicidal to recollect, in a mood of self congratulation, the whole catalogue of the boons and the benefits, scientific technology has bestowed upon mankind in terms of higher production, reduction of avoidable human drudgery and waste, and more conductive condi-

tions of living. These are times for hard and honest thought. Modern society suffers from a hyper growth of its technological gland. We must reconsider the technological basis of this civilization, and diagnose the causes of its crisis, in order to find out suitable correctives and make necessary readjustments to overcome this crisis.

political centralization

Scientific technology in general and the quicker means of transportation and communication in particular, have promoted political centralization, by increasing the capacity of the state to exercise more effective control over far-flung territories, and over more numerous aspects of individual life of more and more people.

This expansion of the power of the State along horizontal as well as vertical planes has been made possible by the fact that technology has provided the governments with powerful instruments of coercion—such as, tanks, flame-throwers, gases, effective means of torture, well-equipped armed forces and police—and instruments of persuasion—such as, radio, television and the press. It was said in the beginning of the century that the modern state was Genghis Khan with the telegraph line. "It speaks with a million voices on the radio. It overhears our conversation on the telephone. It pays into our secret thoughts by censoring our letters. It controls the water we drink, the food we eat, the lights we use, and our modes of transportation—a Ravena with a thousand faces and a million hands, each hand wielding a different instrument of power"¹⁰ Progressive science is one of the causative factors involved in the progressive centralization of power which has occurred during the twentieth century—"thanks to the genius and co-operative industry of highly trained physicists, chemists, metallurgists, and mechanical inventors that the tyrants are able to dragoon large numbers of people more effectively".¹¹ Every successful attempt of the state to use technology to strengthen itself has been a nail driven in the coffin of human liberty. Therefore, every form of government—whether communist or socialist or

democratic—will tend to be oligarchical or totalitarian, if technology plays a predominant role in production techniques and distributive processes. The enhancement of the powers of the state is an encroachment on individual freedom.

It is a great irony that in the age of democracy in which old forms of tyranny, torture, and exploitation do not exist, liberty, of all things, should be in danger to such an enormous extent. It was not a coincidence that at the time of the birth of industrialization, the great principles of human liberty were also proclaimed. The Industrial Revolution synchronized with the French Revolution. In no other society are democratic values more imperative than they are in a society based on technology. While offering to us technology, history was "wise" enough to give us its effective antidote in the form of democratic values. But man in his preoccupation with technological development failed to improve upon and enlarge his initial ideas and values of democracy.

Then what is the way out? How can man reassert his right to freedom? Should he organize a second violent revolution in order to overthrow this modern Bastille of totalitarianism and oligarchy? Organized violent insurrection in the modern state, which is equipped with such powerful instruments of control, is more difficult today than it was in former times. So far, only one hopeful issue has been discovered. "Gandhi attempted to cope with this seemingly desperate situation by organizing a non violent form of direct action *astiyagraha*. Non violence in this age of scientific progress is humanity's only practical substitute for hopeless revolution and self stultifying or suicidal war."¹³

✓ Today, war or violence as means of reconciling the tensions within a state and between the states has become anachronistic and obsolete. In modern times we must enlarge and extend our concept of democracy as a value and accept non violence as an article of faith. Democracy,

and non violence are essential for the stability of peace of a technological society

economic centralization

The consequences of scientific technique in industry has been no less serious than those in the sphere of politics. 'So far, the results of disinterested scientific research have been directed to problems of equipping large concerns with expensive machinery of mass production and mass distribution than to that of providing individuals with cheap and simple, and effective means of production for their own subsistence and for the needs of the local market'¹³ The development of large scale production techniques and mass scale distribution processes has resulted in a high degree of centralization of economic power in a few hands and in urban areas. It creates a large number of propertyless people, wholly dependent upon and subordinated to private or public owners, and managers of means of mass production and mass distribution. This is again a situation in which liberty is in jeopardy.

Moreover, progressive mechanization of production techniques and distribution processes leads to mechanization of life. Modern industrial process is mechanical, uninteresting and alienated. The work process is subdivided into numerous smaller components and work is repetitive, mechanical, and it does not offer scope for the projection of the worker's whole personality into it.

Every technical process tends in its perfection to eliminate the active worker from participation and to produce an effective substitute on the automaton.

"The tendency in mass production is to transfer initiative and significance from the worker, who once operated the machine, to the machine that operates the worker. As the process becomes highly rationalized in its narrow term, the worker becomes, as it were, derationalized."¹⁴ He has no idea of the relation of his work with the whole. He is merely a cog in the wheel, or he is as good, or bad as a bolt or a nut of a vast impersonal automatically

operating production plant. This creates dissatisfaction, apathy, and boredom. We are confronted with an appalling situation in which men work like machines, and machines work like men. Our danger is robotism. "In the nineteenth century the problem was that 'God is dead', in twentieth century the problem is that man is dead." ¹⁵ Progressive technology has 'killed' man. It has dehumanized the society and the individual. This colossal process of dehumanization must be controlled. Instead of continuing to mechanize and regiment man, let us revive the human factor in our way of thinking, working and planning.

technology and the world community

This concentration of political and economic power of the state has one more consequence. It is said that improved means of transportation and communication by annihilating distances have helped in the evolution of a 'great society' in which the formerly valid demarcations of geography or state and divisions of race or culture have been dissolved physically. The world has become a village. Scientific technology has proved to be a great unifying force in this context.

But while it has initiated a movement of world wide unity in a horizontal plane it has also given birth to vertical divisions by creating powerful nation states, wedded to ideals of aggressive nationalism. The most obvious and inescapable consequence of scientific techniques has been that the societies, made more organic, hardened into powerful nation states.

Consequently human society as a whole is in a very serious predicament. As there are two opposing sets of forces operating inside human society a serious distemper has been created. It is being subjected to centrifugal forces in the horizontal plane and centripetal forces in the vertical plane of our political and social existence. Techniques operating along both these planes simultaneously create serious problems.

conclusion

Science as a method of knowing and doing things has created, or tends to create a dehumanized, depersonalized, and deindividualized mass man whose life is deprived of the joys of creative effort excitement of initiative, and passion for liberty. It, in the final analysis, brings about an anti-democratic monolithic and oligarchical social order based on violence, and sustained by the momentum of its own rapid movement.

We in India should take a serious note of these developments. No doubt industrialization has proved to be very effective in solving problems of poverty, hunger, and want. But its dehumanizing effects on the individual and society must also be borne in mind. It is said that only fools learn by their own experience. We should make sure that we benefit ourselves from the 150 years of experience, particularly their experiences in the century of industrialization in Western societies and spare ourselves their grim experiences. We must remember that each factor which contributes to economic growth is also a factor contributing to social need. We cannot afford to be oblivious to the social costs of the economic development brought about by technology. Man, real man, must continue to occupy a central position in our schemes of social reconstruction. His uniqueness and independence must never be bartered away for the tinsel of the ideals of sheer economic progress or economic efficiency or higher productivity. "Let Man Take Command and usher in an Age of Man rather than what is today the Age of Machine."¹⁶

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| 15 Erich Fromm | 16 Lewis Mumford | 14 Lewis Mumford |

MAN MOLECULES, AND MYOPIA

‘Smaller than the smallest • greater than the greatest’

—Upmishads

(i)

the road to glory

Christ in his efforts to overcome hatred on earth, realized the Kingdom of Heaven. The Buddha in his attempt to understand the nature of human conceits and frailty of life realized the Nirvana. Abraham Lincoln stood against slavery and became a hero of the free world. Gandhi died in his attempts to stem the tide of mass scale religious insanity, and became a prophet of sanity. What made the Sakya prince a buddha, the log cabin boy an abraham, the timid lawyer a gandhi ?

An unequal, inverted contest—a situation in which these men of God and gods among men realized the purest gems of truth through their engagements with the tremendous trifles and the base & baseness of life.

Perhaps, the stuff of which heroic deeds are made of is a brood of life's excrecences—its sordidness, its cruelty, its folly, its bigotry, its callousness and rats, pests, vermins, germs, bacteria and its dirt and scum, against which man is enjoined to carry on an incessant crusade without compromising his own divinity. It is perhaps, the unique privilege of homo sapiens to acquire glory through their encounter with the impermanent. The

road to eternity passes through the eye of a needle. The infinite is known through the infinitesimal.

Hardy's view of the human situation that man, a puny and helpless creature, is pitted against the vast, impersonal gigantic and malevolent forces of nature is an inverted picture of the actual situation, which as it obtains in modern times is that man, (the roof and crown of things, man, potent and confident, man armed with the power of knowledge, technology and soul is pitted against the "smaller than the smallest" molecule, mosquito and myopia. Humanity is again confronted with a situation of unequal and inverted contest. But this time it will not be a new Jesus or Gandhi or Buddha who will emerge glorious out of this contest. But human race as a whole, by asserting its collective will and superior reason, will attain collectively such heights as were never realized by any of the preceding civilizations.

(ii)

in the age of atoms

Atoms are ahead like bees driven out of a honey comb. They are huzzing or rather exploding in the open (open seas) threateningly, as if to announce that the age of atom is on us.

Yes the age of atom is on us. We are in for great expectations. This age is pregnant with great possibilities for the future which at present is darkened by the long shadow of the sin—the original sin—we committed in 1945. We entered or announced our entry into this age by the wrong door, amidst the crash of explosives and the cries of the innocents smothered to death by the dark curling clouds of atomic misery. An adolescent civilization perpetrated a tremendous outrage on humanity—of course, with the heat of intensions. But it proves that the human race had not developed those moral, spiritual, and social skills, which are necessary to hold it from putting this new source of energy to such dis-abolical uses. We won a war by loosing our soul.

Blood stained we staggered to victory And not all "the perfumes of Arabia" shall wash off these stains

Apart from its horror, the net of 1945 exploded out of existence man's residual inhibitions again doing wrong We created a new record in our capacity for uninhibited and irrational action

(iii)

atoms of implications

Like its own explosion, the atom will introduce a series of chain reactions in social, political, and economic spheres The atom cannot survive in vacuum it is a 'social being' it also needs a suitable social habitat And unfortunately, our present social set up is practically uninhabitable for the atom which is a force too revolutionary to be considered within the framework of old ideas and institutions

The use of atomic energy, in peace and war, places great strains upon our social skills and the spiritual values Every freed atom that enters into social investment should make us uncomfortable by disturbing our pet beliefs and fond prejudices This smaller than the smallest has created an urgent need for rapid readjustments In short the atomic explosion is an explosive challenge to man's ingenuity sensitiveness, and inventiveness

But it may be asked does every kind of major technological advance not create a need for social readjustments? What peculiar readjustments will be required in the age of atom?

No peculiar re arrangements The readjustments necessary in the age of atom will be the same in principle as those which were necessary in the previous era But the pace of readjustment in almost every aspect of man's individual and collective existence will be very accelerated It is this need for rapid and almost instantaneous readjustment that distinguishes the age of atom from the age of conventional technology Never before was the gap between

man's technical skills and social skills so wide and fraught with such diabolical consequences for the human race, as it is in the age of atom—no matter whether it is for peaceful uses or for war like uses.

It appears that sub-humans have come in possession of super-human powers¹ which in turn require the exercise of super-man's reason to save man from the self-stultifying or suicidal activities. The moral maladjustments and social contradictions such as, international anarchy, aggressive nationalism, and myopia which have remained so far unresolved without fatal consequences to our body politic cannot be allowed to flourish in the age of atom. The human race will have to rid itself immediately of the virus of violence, war, intolerance, and tribalism. And nothing short of spiritual reconstruction² can help us.

(iv)

a world order

No doubt, nationalism has been a major cause of international anarchy from 1914 to 1945. Even now it continues to be so. But in the age of atoms we cannot afford the costly and self destructive luxury of this modern tribalism, which has led us twice into a form of insanity, which is war. War has become useless as an instrument of reconciling difference between nations, because the atomic bomb has obliterated the formerly valid distinctions between the soldier and the civilian, front and rear, victor and vanquished. The institution of war has been turned into a kind of mass suicide³. Therefore, some order must be created out of the existing chaos. We must work for the development of a world community in which war will be a taboo, and violence a rejected creed. States must cast off their garb of political nationalism and realize the utter folly and insanity of fighting for the country, at a time, when we should be fighting for civilization.

In addition to this primary consideration of survival, there is the practical need for stability and prosperity

which should enable us to rise above our national loyalties. For a social order to be stable and prosperous, it is essential that the unit of political organization should be co-extensive with the unit of economic organization. As the world is economically interdependent, there should be world wide political harmony to render this interdependence in economic fields more fruitful.

The ever diminishing prospects of getting oil from middle eastern countries, together with the depleting coal resources, have created a very desperate situation in Europe. It has been realized that the proper use of atomic energy is an issue of life and death to Europe, if it is to avoid being bumbled into industrial atrophy. Europe is at a point at which her productivity with her industrial survival, depends entirely on adding to her new sources of power. It must increase steadily her industrial output at the American rate of 3% a year. But there are no prospects of keeping up this rate with conventional fuels, coal, or oil. At present it will be difficult for these countries with limited resources to set up independently nuclear power stations, because of the high cost of construction, limited source of nuclear fuels and research facilities. Therefore, the use of atomic energy as a source of power in industry has created an urgent need of setting up super-national agencies or co-operatives like *zollverein* in order to produce and distribute economically the power from plants run by atomic energy.

The EURATOM—consisting of some countries of Europe, (France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and West Germany) is an example of such co-operative endeavour undertaken to overcome a difficult situation. Similarly the creation of the Council of European Nuclear Research for encouraging pure research, and OEEC for purposes of providing atomic assistance for national programmes prove conclusively that nation state as a unit of economic organization is inadequate, ineffective and perhaps, a hindrance to their economic growth and industrial prosperity. Larger and larger political groupings have become an economic necessity.

Moreover, science is not the monopoly of a single nation. It belongs to all. The fact that the existing scientific knowledge is the outcome of the joint efforts of the scientists and the research workers of all lands should encourage us to strengthen the trend of international co-operation. Will humanity abandon the national rivalries and conflicts, and rise unitedly to grasp a new world, which holds out a great promise. Never was this much worn out dictum, "United we stand and divided we fall," of such immediate practical value to humanity as a whole than it is today.

Had not the atom intervened, time and experience would have gradually erased the national boundaries of the map of the world. What history would have done, has now to be performed by man, consciously and deliberately by cultivating the art of unification.

(v)

non violence

If war is an insanity and if it has become ineffective as an instrument of reconciling international conflict then it follows that we must re-cast our international relations on the basis of non violence and truth. Our situation can be compared to an over crowded railway compartment in which each passenger is having an atomic bomb sticking out of his pocket. Even the slightest involuntary friction will blow out the whole compartment. Nations empowered with atomic piles cannot risk such involuntary tensions. The world is sitting breathlessly on an ever growing mound of atomic piles. Who should dare to disturb this explosive situation and create an outburst?

But can we remain at peace with our neighbours when our minds are full of violence and anger? How can we enter into a series of fraternal intimacies with others if our hearts are charred with the hell fires of hatred and malignant passions? It is difficult to practise peace and non violence in international spheres, if the internal, social, and political set up of these nations is based on vio-

lence. You cannot practise non violence in your external relations when your internal set up is based on violence.

This leads us to an inescapable conclusion that non violence and truth should also be accepted as a basis of our social and political existence, if we accept it as a basis of international relations. External violence is a projection of internal violence. The external rhythms of our life are an expression of our inner rhythms.

Therefore, in the final analysis, the problem of world peace in the age of atom is closely related to the social values of the individual nations. This again has revolutionary implications. It will amount to overhauling the entire social structure of the countries, because at present ours is a violence centred power motivated competitive social order. Sometimes this violence is manifest, and at others it is unmanifest nonetheless it is there. Humanity has devoted the best of its talents in perfecting the art of violence. We have perfected the science of war by finding out the most effective methods of mass murder. Our economy is an economy of exploitation of labour, of land and of other resources at a reckless rate. The existence of modern state equipped with unfailing instrumentation of coercion is violence personified. We consider life as a struggle for existences in which only the fittest survive. Life feeds on life which is considered to be a grand conspiracy of mutual under cutting. When we say that non violence must be accepted as a value of social life it means we will change this violence centred, and power motivated pattern. Can we do it? Once again the tiny atom raises this fundamental question. Are we prepared to work for this new order? It will involve 'repersonalization of the human personality'. Can we do it?

(11)

atoms for peace¹

The atoms have entered the farms, the factories, the power houses, the hospitals and the laboratories.

The application of atomic energy in agriculture dramatically opens up a hopeful future. One of the most

successful applications of atomic energy in this field has been in the use of radio active tracers in fertilizers. These tracers help scientists to increase production of crops, and bring improved foods to their followmen. By subjecting the seeds or the plants to varying amounts of direct radiation biologists can produce many mutations and thus harder and more productive crops. Bacteria which make food unfit for eating can be killed by direct radiation and this may revolutionize food handling methods.

Atomic energy offers new tools and weapons to aid man's eternal struggle against sickness and disease. Radio isotopes of iodine, locate the area of brain tumour, radio isotopes of phosphorus permit the measurement of the quantity of red blood cells. Iodine isotopes slow down the thyroid activity, and the strontium radio isotopes offer a new treatment for external lesions. Extensive research is being undertaken to explore the remaining mysteries of the human body, and to study how such diseases as of the heart, dropsy, diabetes and cancer develop. For the treatment of cancer atomic radiation opens new vistas. Isotopes of radio gold, radio iodine and radio cobalt have proved very effective in destroying cancer cells. Atomic energy has become a powerful partner of medical progress.

The atom is in the service of industrial development. In paper, rubber, textile and metal working plants radio isotopes make it possible to measure and control the thickness of sheet materials during processing. The causes of wear and tear of tyres or machine parts can be known by radio isotopes. Hidden processes can be detected by radio active cobalt which can by radiation penetrate several inches of solid metal. Paint and wax manufacturers can now more easily test the wearing qualities of their products. In this way the most mystifying and costly problems of wear, corrosion and cleaning can be solved. The product control can be done more effectively in rubber, glass making, metalworking, food and drug processing or wood treatment.

The atom as a new source of power is equally valuable

For Europe it has come as a saviour. In a few years we can expect that this atomic energy will be used for ocean going vessels, trains and air crafts and it could also be used for packaging of power for isolated areas and delivery by air of this almost weightless power to a remote area for assembly. The deserts and barren lands will once again begin to hum with life. This new source of power can supply heat and light to villages hidden in far away valleys.

✓ It appears as if this new force may prove a short cut to a better way of life that otherwise might not be available for centuries.¹ This is man's unique opportunity. We live in an age in which it appears that neither socialism nor communism nor capitalism hold the key to human prosperity. But it is the atom the smaller than the smallest which can solve for good these perennial problems of poverty and want by transforming an economy of scarcity into an economy of abundance.

There is a great promise—almost breath taking in its proportions. But the atomic radiation in war and in peace—has serious biological consequences. And some times we wonder will a deformed and decrepit race of pygmies and midgets rendered sterile and barren by radiation preside over this atomic wonderland of self propelled ships and automatic factories and flourishing fields.

Humanity is in a great dilemma. The atom holds out to us simultaneously the promise of a fuller and richer life and the portents of a maimed and stunted existence. Christ in his efforts to overcome hatred on earth realised the Kingdom of Heaven. But man in course of his encounter with the diabolical forces of destruction lodged in the molecule, can bring that kingdom of heaven on earth itself only if he can be wise, rational and imaginative. This is humanity's greatest adventure.

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RELIGION AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Men think they can do without religion, they do not know that religion is indestructible and the question simply is, which will you have?—Civilization needs a religion as a matter of life and death.

—G B S

(i)

a modern ozymandias

Our ago is strewn with the wreckages of many a venerable traditions built patiently by unnumbered generations. A modern Ozymandias—battered by the furious winds of new knowledge, and hollowed out from within by its own weaknesses—religion stands humbled amidst these ruins.

There was a time when, like a temple in an ancient South Indian town, religion occupied a central position in the life of the people. And today it is an out cast—a refugee in our civilization.

Europe—the Christian Europe—has built an un-Christian civilization. In China and India religion is losing its former hold. In America, we are told, church has become a social institution. Turkey turned its back on Islam years ago. And almost all the Moslem States—Persia, Egypt, and Afghanistan are following the same high way leading to secular glory.

Every where the forces of secularism are marching triumphantly outside the churches the mosques and the temples, which at the dawn of history, were cradles of civilization

One wonders why religion—the ancient and the most primal expression of the human spirit has suffered in prestige and power, and has been condemned, criticized, challenged, and ridiculed by any body and every body who thinks he matters. The psychologists, the political leaders, the natural scientists, the progressive social workers, and even some philosophers have assailed it and hooed it out of their domains. Marx said that it is the opium of the masses. Russell regards it as a disease born of fear, and as a source of untold misery to the human race. Some psychologists have explained away its value as a beneficial psychosis.

Surely, religion, in a sense, cost mankind a lot in struggle and suffering, in stunted manhood, and deformed spiritual growth. It has been, even recently in India, the cause of some of the bloodiest wars and persecutions. It supported bigotry, lent its authority to the oppressors and sanctified their pretences. It weakened man's social conscience and moral sensitivity. It engendered the ideas of fatalism, intolerance, and narrow mindedness. It divided people by doing its utmost to maintain their inner barriers. A shabby irreligious, undignified role, indeed! No wonder that the people should have realized that the only way to get rid of this religious fear, conceit, and hatred was to do away with all religions. And it appears that they have done it successfully.

(II)

a felt need

But even then men are not happy in this secular paradise. There is doubt, uncertainty, and anxiety in their lives in spite of the fact that our age is not wanting in lofty idealism—for example, the passions for social justice and a will to equality continue to inspire men and women

to heroic efforts and noble sacrifices. The insistent challenge of poverty, and the indomitable will to lead a life of dignity have given birth to many a Moseses and Messiahs and Avatars. Modern age has its own crusades. In recent times, men and women have risked their lives in thousands to fight for their secular faiths in far off lands. This age is not wanting, in its alarms and slogans of 'jehads'.

But even then, those who are assailed by religious doubts are in search of something more. They are in search of a substitute for religion. And there we have a rich fair of every conceivable alternative to religion—Theosophy, Christian Science, Anthroposophy, New Thought, Agnosticism, Scepticism, Pragmatism, Humanism, Atheism and a whole catalogue of mushrooms of -isms. But we still suffer from the sickness of the spirit¹ with all this surfeit of ideas and ideologies, which generate enough heat but no light—light, which would give human beings a sense of purpose and direction and a value to alleviate their sense of suffering and sin; light, which will help them to find a way out of the encircling gloom of doubt, disbelief, and inner unrest. "Man is still groping for a more meaningful and synthetic view of life and human destiny. Man cannot live with the assistance of a self-sufficient, and autonomous scientific rationalism. Man is not all brains, which is incapable of satisfying his primal craving for the eternal and the abiding. Unbelief is impossible for man"²; and the problem of our times is, in the final analysis, a problem of faith³—a living faith, a new faith, which will give us the calm of inner contemplation and the joy of creative living.

(iii)

religion defined

It is clear that the insistent pressure of new knowledge has dissolved the forms of religion, but it has failed to destroy the need for religion, which in its true sense is not theology, or a set of dogmas or rituals and symbols or

institutions. The world has suffered from irreligion rather than religion. The bane of the human race has been the institutionalized or demonstrative aspect of organized religion. Religion and secular life are very closely related. When religion begins to interfere too much with secular life, it does so at its own peril. When secular life cuts itself away from religion, it also does so at its own peril. One of the reasons for the mess, which religion made of itself can be attributed to its excessive interference with secular life.

' Religion is the discipline which touches the conscience and helps us to struggle with evil and sordidness, saves us from greed, lust and hatred, releases moral power, and imparts courage in the enterprise of saving the world. As a discipline of mind, it contains the key and the essential means of coping with evil which threatens the existence of the civilized world. It is as the meaning of the word suggests, a binding force. It is a summons to spiritual adventure. Religion restores the best relationship between the individual and the eternal.'⁴ In this sense religion satisfies a felt need—a real need of man. And perhaps, it has a definite part to play in the contemporary world.

(iv)

religion and science

It is popularly believed that religion has no place in this era of science which has completely overthrown the scriptural (particularly the christian) view of cosmology, man, and creation. It is held that science with its emphasis on reason, observation and experience is antagonistic to religion which, they say, is based on obedience, acceptance, and authority.

The notion of conflict between religion and science is only of historical importance. It was a matter of debate in the 19th century only. Today this debate is irrelevant. The scientists have realized the limitation of science. It is not the key to the whole mystery of life. There is a return

of values in science. The religious physicists have realized that religion is not a rival of science. Science and religion are complementary.

Science deals with one aspect of reality—it is a method, a set of explanations. But religion is an experience, a thing of the spirit. Science deals with second causes, but religion is concerned with the first cause, the formal cause.

Scientific investigation affirms and strengthens faith, it kindles our sense of mystery and wonderfulness. All religious experience is also rooted in man's sense of mystery. The deep sense of mystery and wonder which filled the heart of the man who saw for the first time a glorious sun rise, is in no way different from that which one experiences, when the lens of a telescope unfolds to his eye a universe of myriads of rolling spheres or when he is confronted with the universe of atoms—myriads of tiny whirling 'particles'. 'Man's highest happiness as a thinker is to have fathomed what can be fathomed and to bow in reverence before the unfathomable'. Today the results of the highest researches of science can perform both the functions. Scientific research helps man to fathom the fathomable. But this process is continuous. The fathomable, the Little Known, is only a spring-board from which we take a leap into the Great Unknown. When scientific research leads us to a point at which we stand face-to-face with the breath-taking view of the universe of atoms or ever expanding vistas of the limitless tracks of star-studded void of endless spaces, we bow in reverence before the colossal phenomena, which fills us with the same (perhaps deeper) sense of wonderfulness and mystery, which also filled the hearts of our ancestors when they saw the scenic glories of nature. This is a religious mood when man is filled with a supreme sense of humility, and when the vision of the unknown disarms him, dissolves his ego, and unhardens his weight of self-consciousness.

It is commonly believed that all scientific research is based on inference. The scientist isolates one of nature's processes. He studies them and records his

observations for scrutiny, and then, he ponders over the mass of data he has collected in order to find out, what does it indicate. He scratches his head, snaps his fingers, strains his eyes, and gazes at these dead figures waiting for the right moment of inspiration, for an act of imaginative concentration. Max Planck has acknowledged that even the scientists have patiently to wait for the "spark from heaven", and this suggests that the great scientist, no less than the great poet, is in the final analysis, a creature of inspiration. It appears that the religious experience and the experience which the highest scientific research induces upon us, tends to be identical. Science and religion become partners in the great adventure of man to know the reality. It is very strange that the man in the street should be losing faith, and the man in the laboratory should be gaining it.

Fear is a characteristic feature of our times. Men's minds are darkened with its ever lengthening shadow, which is extending over almost every phase of life. We suffer from a haunting sense of insecurity. We fear our jobs, we fear our neighbours, we fear our friends, and we are frightened of our children. In fact we, are fearful of the very civilization we have built up. Gloomy prophets of pessimism never tire of telling us that the world will come to an end. They are filled with forebodings of an imminent collapse.

It is paradoxical that with all the scientific knowledge, efficient political and economic organization, and with all the wonderful equipment of a highly developed civilization, man should be haunted by this deep sense of insecurity. It is strange that the civilizing process has reduced this God man to the state of a suckling, cotton wool baby, sterilised, and vitaminised. It is an irony that in this age, we should be suffering from anaching sense of loneliness and unrelatedness. In this big world of noise and fury, man has no sense of belonging to anywhere. The inner defences of men and women all the world over have been weakened. He has lost his independence and self assurance. His confidence in his own destiny has been shaken. Man has forgotten himself, and the facts about his real nature.

How can man regain his hapo, sense of security, and his poise of mind? He must realise that he is a macrocosm as well as microcosm. He is not merely a social animal. He has the potentialities to exceed himself, and become God by breaking through his limitations. It is a question of self discovery. Man is oblivious of his state. And neither science, nor technology nor political nor economic security can retrieve his confidence. His soul is 'sick' and he must get a cure for that. Man must become aware of, and believe in his own divinity and divine destiny. He must realise that he himself is the source of all joy. He is the fountain head of all that is true, joy-giving, and noble in life. Since he is 'Brahman' himself, he has no cause to fear any one, even

Brahma His sense of insecurity, anxiety, and unrest will vanish if he becomes aware of the ultimate nature of life and its goal. Neither science nor sociology, nor state nor economic development can give him inner stability and confidence which is so necessary for a fearless and courageous living. Religion has still the capacity to steel the soul of man. The call of true religion is the call of freedom.

It exhorts man to live dynamically and fight the evil in the world. If man has faith that he is made in the image of God, he will certainly feel more responsible, and act according to the dignity which that status enjoins upon him. In this way, religion serves man and society. It gives us a sense of direction, an inner law, and therefore, freedom and courage.

Violence is an aggravated feature of our age. Its impact can be seen on every human institution. There is extreme concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a monolithic state which is power incarnate. Ours is an economy of exploitation. It is a predatory system which should have no place in this age. The logic of history is that man has moved from the rule of law to the rule of love. Religion and spiritual values can serve as an antidote to this violence.

The skill to control nature and harness it to human purposes has given man limitless powers. It would require the cultivation of a super man's reason if this tremendous source of power is to be used for the good of humanity. We continue to live at sub human levels of aggressiveness, anger, intolerance, and barbarism.

The new world order must have a deep spiritual impulse to give it unity and drive. It alone can give a rational basis to the social programme. We must, as the late Henri Bergson said, look to that God common to all mankind, the mere vision of whom, could all men but attain it would mean the immediate abolition of war, and violence. How can we obtain the vision of

God to which Bergson refers? How can we be delivered from sin and futility, and helped to attain insight into the Real which is one for all? "Religion is based on the discovery of the essential worth and dignity of the individual and his relation to a higher world of reality. When the human beings perceive that they belong to an order of reality higher than brute nature, they cannot be satisfied by worldly success or the triumphs of materialistic science and then they will abjure violence in every form."

Sometimes the value of violence manifests itself in the form of a revolution which it is no doubt, is being discarded as an instrument of social change in modern times. The people in general are critical of these methods, and are becoming convinced of its futility, because revolution, like the Greek mythological figure Cronus, tends to eat its own children. It creates more complicated problems than it solves. It is wasteful, but such a process has an obvious advantage. It is spectacular. It is dramatic. It has great visual value. People see with their own eyes the symbols of tyranny crumbling to dust. They can hear with their own ears the crash and clang of the falling defunct institutions. They participate in the acts of destroying those who had kept them under abject degradation and slavery. Excitement, enthusiasm, passion and fervour are generated by this method of revolt, which is nothing but pent up fury, vengeance and a deep sense of wrong let loose. On the high tide of this revolutionary fervour, masses are willing to undergo great suffering, and make greater sacrifices in order to carry out the process of revolution to a successful finale.

But this asset of mass co-operation at a high pitch is not generally available to those, who are wedded to constitutional change which is not so dramatic. Therefore, for peaceful changes people have to be made to realise their social responsibility. No peaceful revolution can succeed, if people are not imbued with a high sense of social responsibility, which means that they must

learn to forgo their personal gains and self centered pursuits for the larger good. Religion, as a discipline of mind, can create a spirit of self abnegation and self-sacrifice by enlarging the hearts of man, and by expanding their sympathies. The conflict between the interest of the individual and the interest of the society cannot be reconciled by force, but by true religious values, which exhort men to adjure greed, selfishness, and acquisitiveness.

The situation is aggravated, in a way, by the fact that the state is taking keen interest in the schemes of promoting welfare. In the final analysis, the development is not good for individual liberty. The God man gradually gets transformed into a 'herdman' or the mass man. There is a limit to which the state can demand conformity and obedience from its subjects. Ultimately, it is the willing co operation of the people which matters. And unless people are convinced, the process cannot succeed. Religion can generate and strengthen the spirit of social purpose in individuals. Religion can reconcile the perennial conflict between individual interest and world purpose. 'Civilization is the movement of the spirit. Its essence lies not in biological unity of race, of political or economic arrangements. Every civilization is the expression of religion, which gives passion to or preserve life, if it declines. Progress of mankind lies in enlarging its sympathies and outlook. The ultimate goal of human evolution is to be one with the infinite and transcend himself. The need of development for social purpose on the part of the individual is merely an expression of the outward movement of the human spirit.'

The challenge to modern civilization is from within. Tojanbec terms it as 'schism of soul'. History is not wanting in instances of civilizations, which have failed and slipped into the oblivion due to their incapacity to make necessary spiritual adjustments. The rise and fall of a civilization is a function of the spiritual values it stands for. Civilizations do not survive solely on the strength of the material equipment and power acquired.

over nature. Any form of power whose source is material must dissipate automatically. The second law of thermodynamics operates equally well in case of civilizations, which can not last on the basis of its external defences. Its sustaining power comes from within, from a set of spiritual values which informs and maintains it in health.

In case of earlier civilizations the challenges were of a material and external nature. Man was primarily concerned with his encounter with nature. But today science has, to a great extent, mitigated this conflict. It is not so hard and exacting. The human race has entered into a new phase of its development in which its survival depends upon its capacity to resolve the tension between man and man. 'Our stage of evolution is not in man's physique but in his psyche, in his mind and spirit, in the emergence of a larger understanding and awareness in the development of a new integration of character adequate to the new age.' And for this, we have to fight for the new order, first in our own souls, then in the world outside." The continuing progress of technology is going to make our suffering acute, and our sins more devastating in the practical consequence. There is no possibility that the suffering and sin of men will be less than it was in the previous ages. It will be more acute because the conflict has been transferred from the physical plane to the mental. Life's drudgery would be less. The physical comforts available to men would be incomparably more than what his predecessors had enjoyed. But, inwardly he will not be at ease with himself and the world.

tion and self examination. It will fail, if it confines itself to dogmas and rituals. It must disentagle itself from the dead weight of incidental accretions. A re statement of it is necessary. It must re construct itself in order to answer the needs of this age in which root less secularism or the worship of man, or the state, faintly flavoured by religious sentiment is the prevalent faith? It must help us to discover our roots in the eternal. 'If not, when the floods come and the winds blow and beat upon our house, it will fall'.

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MEN OF GENIUS ARE REFUGEES IN OUR CIVILIZATION

'Tis the times' plague, when mad men lead the
blind.

—*Shakespeare*

(i)

Yes—it is 'also times' plague when genius should pay homage to mediocrity and when masses should turn their back upon men of intellect and genius and look to play-gods for guidance and strength. Such a revolting situation exists in our age also.

Demagogues are our preceptors ; paid parsons and priests are saviours of our souls ; cricketers our heroes ; film stars our idols ; and comic-strips our craze ; thrillers our rage ; pin-up girls our passion ; and above all, the politician, the businessman, the industrialist, the acquiescent scientist are the accredited leaders who establish the pattern of social life, and set up scales of values for others.

The social revolutionary, the poet, the painter, the prophet, and all those who have exceptional qualities and talents do not generally occupy a place of honour and prestige. They are either refugees, displaced or a pre-placed tribe who are out of tune with our times and ill-at-ease with this age, in which the utilitarian values of life have struck deep roots.

The tangible, the measurable, the marketable, the consumable, the cashable, and the saleable products command a higher value. The art of living has become

akin to the art of a salesman. The values for which we live are the same, irrespective of our professions, they are the pride of dominance and the lust for power, which is preferred to intelligence and imagination. In this acquisitive and competitive society men and women are not judged by their own worth or excellence but by their bank balances, their power over other fellow beings, their splendour, their vulgar ostentation, and their capacity to out bid each other in a grim, nerve racking, and desperate race for success.

The artists, the poets, the painters or for that matter any one, who deals with intangible, non concrete things of imagination and beauty, will feel himself out of place in this "market", because there is no connection between their inner world and the world in which they live. They are giant among these midgets, who measure them by their own pigmy standards, and judge them by their own centimetre scale of values. But the soul of the genius, which is illumined by the light of higher values and imperishable ideals uncorrupted by the demands of realism or commerce, cannot be understood by them.

(ii)

genius as a social revolutionary

It is sometimes believed that men of intellect and men of genius operating in social spheres are idle crystal-gazers. It is not so. These men of genius have their one foot in the past, the second foot in the present, and their eyes pierce into the future. They see the present as a continuum of the past, and build for the future in relation to both. Their attitudes are unaffected by the pressure or the passion of the moment. They think and act in accordance with the needs of to morrow, and when they operate on a three dimensional plane, they naturally become an enigma to lesser men. Their actions are incomprehensible to many. Their ways, which appear unorthodox, disturb the existing patterns of thoughts, or action, or both. They are, in this sense innovators, breakers of old habit patterns of thought or action and

initiators of the processes of building up new ones. They are instrumental in shifting the social equilibrium from one level to the other. They are never content with what exists. Their searching gaze penetrates into the heart of things and since they understand the inherent beauty and inevitable corruption that lie under the veneer of assumed values, they use both of them to a superior purpose with unerring skill.

We in India had Gandhi—a man who started as a mediocre and ended as a genius. Out of the dust he made us men. He made a fear-stricken people challenge the might of an empire. He knew fully well the stuff of which we are made of and he transmuted our weakness into strength. He harnessed a slave nation's passion for freedom to sell his idea of Non-Violence and Truth. He was fully aware that for his followers Non-Violence was a policy and not a creed. In this respect Gandhi the mass leader, the undisputed father of Indian nationhood was the loneliest man in the world in which there was not a single person who shared his passion for Truth and faith in Non-Violence. He died gloriously a disillusioned man—a sad man. He was in this sense a pre-placed person, who should have been born 1000 years hence.

(III)

genius as a scientist

There are also geniuses like Newton and Einstein who also can be considered as revolutionaries in their spheres. Newton overthrew that concept of matter which was valid for centuries before him. Einstein overthrew the Newtonian concept of the universe and revolutionized our understanding of the cosmos. Freud gave a new interpretation of man. He shattered the narcissism of man and gave a rude shock to the myth of his divinity.

But in modern times these scientist geniuses are tools in the hands of the politicians. The scientific research of the highest order has become an industry. It needs expensive equipment and exorbitant finance.

Individually, a scientist, whatever his genius, cannot afford to undertake any research project without the assistance of an organization¹ — either a State or an industrial firm. It is in the nature of things that he should be prepared to bargain a part of his autonomy. Consequently, he loses his independence and has to work along the policy laid down by the State or the industrialist. His position as a genius once again stands compromised. Here again we see the genius paying homage to mediocrity.

Every genius becomes the centre of disturbance, if he asserts himself, and does not make a compromise like the modern scientists. He can shake and give severe mental and physical jolts, which are not to the liking of those who are in power. He creates spiritual convulsions, and instances are not wanting of prophets, who were shot dead, or of philosophers who were exiled, and of men of exceptional qualities, who were hunted and harassed, and of some atomic scientists, who were captured by some governments in their homes and high seas, and were set to work according to the luck of their captors to slave for one side or other.

Dante lived for many years in exile and so did Byron. Harvey was harassed, and Lavoisier was guillotined and, Galileo was poisoned to death. Henri Dunant, the founder of the most humanitarian of movements — 'The Red Cross Society' — died a disillusioned man in oblivion. Einstein was driven out of Germany and Oppenheimer was subjected to McCarthyite humiliations of being suspected of Un-American activities. Stefan Zweig and his wife committed suicide in Mexico, after years of homeless wanderings. In a utilitarian market-place aesthetic values are misplaced and also those who believe in them.

(iv)

genius as an artist²

There was a time when poetry used to be in speech, in transaction, in worship, banquet, before battle, in the

moment of birth or burial. But this night has come. Poetry is no longer our daily bread, and therefore the poet is no longer a hero, or an unrecognized legislator of mankind. Minus its nostalgic excess, Reads poignant lament over the decline of the fortunes of poetry is equally applicable in other branches of art in our age in which truth, beauty, and goodness are proclaimed to be a product of an accidental combination of atoms destined to end as it began in a cloud of hydrogen.

What are the causes of this decline in the fortunes of the artist in modern society? The causes lie in the roots of the nature of the society in which we live. There is barrenness in the lives of men who are 'hollow men', stuffed men, who are deprived of the illuminations, the light and the tenderness and insight for an infallible interpretation in contemporary terms the sorrows, wonders and follies, and gaieties of man's life. Man in the modern age, has been deprived of the aesthetic sensibilities which enable him to enjoy the eternal beauties of creative art. The cult of the useful dominates their minds. They can never pause and ponder over 'things of beauty'.

Our audiences crave for entertainment, sensationalism, thrills and all that is exciting without being elevating. Films, television, radio satisfy a deep-seated passionate public need. Naturally art, if it is really worth the name, is not going to find favour with such audiences. The artist is far less important and pales into insignificance in the glamour of new substitutes. He stands alone and watches this great scene and falls into a reverie reminding himself of his prototypes in the past and their status and glories.

But this 'barrenness or hollowness' in the minds of men is itself a consequence rather than a cause. Ours is a world on the move. The scales and the scope of change is tremendous. It alters as we walk in. Within a life time values undergo a qualitative transformation which has no relation to the past. The traditions, culture, symbols, history, myth, common experience constitute the material which the artist tries to illuminate, harmonize

much for one to know. Never did the integrity of the intimate, detailed true art, the integrity of the artist, the preservation of the familiar, the humorous, and the beautiful stand in more massive contrast to the greatness of the globe and the otherness of other people. And in such a society too vast, too disorderly and too fragmentary, he can only try to give meaning and beauty to its parts, and not the whole. This does not make for great art. Under these circumstances the artist clings to what is close to him, to what he knows, to his love, to himself, lest he should be dissolved in the universal confusion. He is alone, his art ego centric and parochial, but he cannot continue for long at this equilibrium. The vastness of the world impinges upon him. He cannot ignore it. And his problem is how to balance, the perpetual precarious balance, between the infinitely open and the intimate, how to harmonize the new and the familiar. Overwhelmed by these tensions, working within and without his personality, the artist cannot establish a proper relationship with his milieu. He develops an inwardness, and is lost in his own divided world. III—at least with himself he remains ill-at-ease with the world. He lives on an edge of mystery and surrounded by it. He lives within himself. His art is his personality—centred—lacking in universality, which is an essential quality of all art. His art is out of touch with the rhythms of his age as a whole. He either escapes into his own sub-conscious world or into the outer space or into the past, in order to find a firm foot hold, a tangible matter to feed his creative urges. The staggering novel "Ulysses" of James Joyce, the glut of novels on the flight to the Mars or the Neptune in American fiction are illustrative of this trend.

(v)

Conclusion

Mediocrity is the badge of this age. Men of genius will generally continue to be out of place in such a world.

TECHNOLOGY AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The life of man is founded on technology, science, art, and religion. All four are inter related and issue from his total mentality

—*Whitehead*

(i)

encounter of cultures

Cultures do not travel in parts. One thing leads to another. If a body social accepts foreign techniques, then in the long run, these techniques, if they are powerful, will bring in, after them at other elements of their own culture.

The character of a culture is derived from its conception of the relationship between man and nature. Technology which is no element of culture, is a product of man's response to his physical environments in accordance with the values of the culture to which it belongs. Therefore, technology has a character, an individuality. It is not a set of neutral, mechanical, devices which will grow everywhere and anywhere. It can flourish only in association with other components of the culture of which it is a part, because 'every historic culture-pattern is an organic whole in which all parts are interdependent, so that, if any part is prised out of its setting, both the isolated part and the mutilated whole behave differently from the behaviour when the pattern is in

There may be exceptions whom the Society honours, but these exceptions do not disprove the rule that the tragedy of our times is that men of genius and integrity are refugees in our civilization

the process of technological infiltration has been gathering momentum. Today India is increasingly dominated in its values and goals by the problem of economic growth, which it believes—almost like an article of faith—can be promoted by industrialization. Even today India is the eighth industrial country in the world.

During this period many changes have taken place in the Indian social structure. Most of the vital props of its social structure have seriously been effected. This process of transformation will be accelerated in the future, since the Second Five Year Plan lays great emphasis on industrialization.

The process of industrialization in India can be divided broadly into three phases, the first phase upto World War I, the second phase upto World War II, and the third phase after Independence.

In the first two phases the process of industrialization being unplanned and almost chaotic, the social disorganization caused by it was very painful, and of tragic proportions. India still carries in its soul the scars of the social consequences of this unregulated technological infiltration, which have entered into the Indian body social and played havoc with it. It was an injury added to the insult of political subjugation.

The earliest creations of modern technology which initiated the era of social change in India were the means of communication such as railways, ships, telegraphs. And since, the process of communication is the heart and soul of social change, the railways played a revolutionary part in disrupting severely the indigenous social structure of India. They initiated an unending series of social and economic changes.

The railways disturbed the agrarian configuration and shattered the self sufficiency of the villages. They introduced into the Indian village community forces of disintegration, and thus weakened one of those social institutions, which had served as a bulwark against many a political upheaval. Empires had risen and fallen,

tact ¹ Therefore the result of the penetration of a detached splinter of culture pattern into the other foreign culture pattern is that either it will destroy itself or it will transform the invaded body social by drawing in after it, the other components of the social system in which the splinter is at home, and from which it has been detached ²

Therefore when the technological strand of a culture is disengaged from the system within which it has been originally functioning hitherto and is set free to range abroad by itself in a different milieu it may prove deadly to the new system in which it has been transplanted. In its original setting the culture strand of technology was restrained from working havoc because it was kept in order by its association with other components of a pattern in which the diverse participants were in equilibrium ³

For example the particles composing of an atom of some inoffensive element cease to be innocuous and become dangerously corrosive as soon as they have been split off from the orderly society of particles of which an atom is constituted, and have been sent flying by themselves on an independent career of their own ⁴

Or a disease which is a mild one for us, because it has been rife among us so long that we have developed an effective resistance to it may prove deadly to the South Sea Islanders who have been exempted from it before being suddenly exposed to it by the arrival among them of its foreign carriers ⁵

This is the law of encounter between cultures which has been propounded by Arnold Toynbee. It can explain how during the last 60—70 years western technology has been gradually transforming the indigenous social structure

(ii)

technology in India

1

Technology came to India in the later part of the nineteenth century with the impact of the West. Since then

ces between them maintained by tradition and custom began to diminish.⁸

The importance of the caste in the old Indian Social structure cannot be under estimated, although its validity and utility in modern conditions is very doubtful. In the past it did perform a very useful purpose of the preservation of skills in craft and industry, division of labour, and a just distribution of rewards, welding together of heterozygous populations, transmission of cultural heritage to succeeding generations, and protecting against political instability.⁹ Perhaps it was in view of these advantages it has been said, 'so long as Hindus hold to caste system India will be India. But from the day they break from it there will be no more India. The glorious peninsula will be degraded to the position of a bitter East End of Anglo Saxon Empire'.¹⁰

But the multiplicity of contacts in various fields in work, in the educational institutions in travel, in play, and in commerce, rubbed off the caste distinction and liquidated this 'cake of the custom' and introduced vocational mobility both horizontal and vertical.

The individual was emancipated from the group. Now he stood alone by himself, and this converted Indian society which was formerly a 'community of communities' to an aggregate of individuals and not an organic whole.

The process combined with the process of urbanization and the creation of plural societies weakened the institution of joint family, the third pillar of Indian social structure.

It will be observed that the process of atomization which is one of inevitable concomitants of technology dismantled the social structure of India which was based on the group and not the individual.

The foregoing analysis is just a statement of what occurred in India, when western technology was ushered into its hody social by a foreign colonial power, who was not at all interested in the disastrous consequences which

invaders came, conquered, and got dissolved in the vast sea of Indian humanity. But these village communities which had been scattered across the length and breadth of the country like grass continued to preserve the culture of this land.

The process of disorganization went deeper. It pushed out local products from the market, crushed the hereditary craftsman, and reduced him to the status of a propertyless wage earner. Those artisans who were working in village industries such as, spinning and weaving, pottery, brassware, oil pressing, lacquer work etc., were deprived of their source of livelihood. This rendered the populace mobile and shiftless. A village became an adjunct of a factory.

The rapid mechanical devices of communication brought the farmer into direct relation with the world market. Agriculture, which was a way of living for millions, tended to become an industry, and the motives of consumption yielded place to the motives of profit and export. Their fortunes got tied up to the rise and fall of prices in London and New York.

India entered into an era in which co-operation was replaced by competition, individual ownership to communal and village ownership and money economy for barter economy. The proprietor and the producer were drawn into the orbit of uncontrolled and impersonal forces, and they became agents of competitive production for the foreign markets.⁷ In this way, the forces of technology disrupted the basic economic and cultural unit of Indian social structure.

The quicker means of communication and transportation annihilated the social and spatial distances. Working in close association with another set of forces, ideological infiltration viz., western liberalism, it dealt a shattering blow to the caste system another basic prop of the Indian social structure. Various castes and classes travelled together on equal footing and the social distance

ces between them maintained by tradition and custom began to diminish.⁸

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a splinter of foreign culture entering into another culture can bring

We are not idealizing the past. Institutions are a historical growth. They come and they go. There is nothing sacred at all about them. They must change according to the requirements of times.

But the unfortunate aspect of the process of social change brought about by the earlier infiltrations of technology was that while the blind forces of machine destroyed one pattern, there was nothing that it could offer in replacement except the other associative elements of the culture of which it was a splinter. This initiated a series of changes by which Indian life and social structure began to get westernized.

The old Indian structure was based upon three concepts, the autonomous village community, caste, and the joint family system. Behind this structure lay the philosophical idea of Indian culture—the integration of man and the stress of goodness, beauty, and truth, than acquisitiveness. The duties of the individuals were emphasised and, not their rights. The organization of the society was, generally speaking, non competitive and non acquisitive¹³.

Industrialization and rapid means of communication—have been one of the most powerful causative factors which have disrupted seriously the old Indian social structure. It destroyed the self sufficiency of the village community, helped in weakening the hold of the caste system, and was instrumental in disintegrating the joint family system. In short, the technological change converted a non competitive and a non acquisitive community into a competitive, and acquisitive and highly individualistic society like the western societies.

(iii)

need for re adjustment

However, there is a difference between the process of

change in the Indian society and that in the western society

In the western societies technology grew slowly and the process of adjustment was gradual. As they proceeded with industrialization they found out suitable antidotes which enabled them to make technology their servant. Some of the solutions which the western societies involved for themselves were a suitable system of education, a high level of public knowledge, a wide diffusion of technical skills, an expertise, a gradual development of social institutions, trade unions and professional associations.

In India, due to unfortunate circumstances, there were little possibilities of making similar readjustments. On the contrary, western technology introduced into the Indian social structure almost all the important institutions and ideals of western society minus the social correctives which had helped them to accommodate scientific technology inside their then prevailing systems.

For example, technology released the individual in India from the group which had given him in the past economic, social and psychological security. Now the individual came out into the open world too vast and too impersonal for him to be comprehended in one view. Therefore he was bewildered. We could not provide him with alternative schemes and institutions of security.

The caste and the family as a mechanism of transmission of skills and cultural heritage went under. But no other alternative mechanism of transmission was provided for.

A competitive society began to evolve on the ruins of the old communal structure. But the associations and the system of education which could develop the real spirit of competition and the social skills necessary to live and flourish in such a wide competitive order did not emerge.

Above all, a terrible conflict of values ensued in the soul of India. The efficiency of technology as a means

of raising the standard of living was being proved, beyond doubt in other parts of the world. It promised a better life. But its soul revolted under the tyranny of the foreign rule and alien techniques which were corroding the foundation of its social structure and its ancient varieties. This conflict of values could not be resolved. There was no time for it. A relentless struggle against an imperialist power consumed the emotional and intellectual energies of a majority of people. The equally vital but less spectacular and almost invisible consequences of the process of the technological infiltration could not be attended to. But even if there was time for these problems it would have been of no avail because at that time Indians were not the masters of their own affairs. Thus the unfortunate political circumstances conspired to leave us with little time and energy to think of resolving the basic conflicts. We continued to drift.

But Gandhi with his penetrating and intuitive understanding realized the agony in the soul of India. Like a prophet he saw that if Hindus went on wearing clothes made by western machinery they would be leaving their fields in order to work in their own Indian Cotton Mills and Indian foundries and when they had become used to spending their working time doing western jobs they would take to spending their leisure on western amusements—movies, talkies, greyhound racing and the rest—till they would find themselves growing western souls and forgetting how to be Hindus. ¹¹

Gandhi made a mighty symbolic attempt to place this problem also before the people of India by his programme of constructive work by his emphasis on hand spinning and his incessant opposition to the craze of reckless technological development. But this part of his message was drowned in the drum beats of nationalism. We were so much absorbed in our passion for political freedom and rapid economic emancipation that we did not pay heed to this part of his programme and dismissed it as one of the many fads of the Master which we must respect with no obligation to practice. Most of us paid lip-service to these ideas and practiced them if at all we

did, at the mass — spinning ceremonies held on the occasion of the annual sessions or the Independence Week celebrations, or at the prayer meetings held at Raj Ghat. We liked the drama of these spinning sessions rather than their significance, which if we had cared to understand, would have stemmed the tide of disintegration caused by technology in India. Charkha which in reality was a symbol of a new culture, became a symbol of a political ideal.

And when independence came, the corruption started by the technological infiltration had acquired such enormous proportions that we confused it as a normal condition of Indian life. New urgencies and new problems face us. We are eager to face them. We have to impart meaning and content to the newly-won freedom. India has taken up the challenge of poverty. She has plunged headlong into the second phase of her struggle in which technology has assumed a new significance. Due to its dramatic successes elsewhere, industrialization has been accepted unreservedly as a major cure for her economic ills, although there is considerable emphasis on agriculture and agrarian reforms. But we do not seem to have realized fully the truth that the technological infiltration is not an innocent or innocuous affair, that technology is not a neutral or passive factor, that it demands many social correctives and re-adjustments, that change is many sided, and that the social costs of technological advance can only be neglected at a great peril.

It should not be implied that the existing plans do not provide for these re-adjustments. There are plans, and plans, and many plans. But most of them are inadequate. They can not cope with the rate at which industrialization is being undertaken and contemplated. So insistent is our zeal and need for economic progress that we are trying to squeeze within a few five year plans what Europe had accomplished in over two centuries. This is the crux of the entire problem. Time is of the essence of change. The rate of social change can not keep pace with technical advancement.

without causing grave psychological problems. Family, the central mechanism for the transmission of culture, cannot change rapidly, because external social changes often involve, changes in the roles played by the members of the family. The capacity of the family to function as a kind of institutional brake can not be stretched too far without running the risk of causing widespread instabilities in family life. Therefore in India the pace of social re adjustment is bound to lag behind the technological growth. This gap in the long run, will have repercussions on the life of generations to come. It is quite possible that the present intensity of desire for industrial development and the lure of the rising living standards may obscure the equally important problem of social re adjustment. A socially maladjusted society will be burdened with an impressive industrial system which in the long run will topple over under its own weight. It would be unwise to barter away the interests of posterity for immediate gains.

I think the parable of Jacob and Esau in the Bible is profoundly significant in this context.

Jacob and Esau were two sons of Isaac. The first born Esau was red and hairy and of a rough harsh temper. Jacob the second was smooth in appearance and gentle in bearing. Esau became a skillful hunter and a husbandman. Jacob was a plain man, and dwelt in tents. Isaac loved Esau. One day Jacob was cooking a mess of pottage when Esau coming home from the field faint with hunger, said to his brother 'Give me of this pottage, for I am hungry.'

Jacob said to him 'Sell me thy first birth right.'

Esau replied 'Lo! I die of hunger what will the first birth right avail me.'

Jacob answered 'Swear, therefore to me.'

Esau swore, and sold his birth right.

India also stands starved, and starved in more ways than one. And it would be in the interest of generations to come if, we of this generation remember, the mistake Esau committed by selling his birth right for a mess of pottage.

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| 10 S. C. Redwood | 11 Prof. Heller | |
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EAST AND WEST

Mankind stems from one origin from which it has figured out in many forms. It is now striving towards the reconciliation of that which has been split up. The separation of East and West is over. The history of the new world, the one world, has begun. It promises to be large in extent, varied in colour, rich in quality.

—Radhakrishnan

There is no doubt that we are moving into "a new world, a one world." But it is not quite certain, whether it would continue to be a world "varied in colour" and "rich in quality." It might be a world of characterless uniformity produced by the predominating influence of one culture—the culture of the West.

The West has gone everywhere—in the south, and in the north, above all in the east. Although the Western imperialism stands liquidated yet the empire of its ideas and institutions continues to expand and annex more and more domains of the life of the people of Asia and Africa. Geographically Asia is in the East, but otherwise it is becoming the West. There is not a single country—whether it is the land of Iamas, or the land of Confucius, or the desert areas of Arabia or Africa—which has remained unaffected by the impact of the dynamic culture of the West.

The western armies invaded Russia in 1610, 1709, 1812, 1915, and 1941. The western missionaries, traders,

and soldiers from across the seas have been pushing into Africa and Asia from their coasts since the fifteenth century. They occupied the major parts of the world's vacant lands in Australia, America, and East Africa. The Africans were deported across the Atlantic to America in order to serve the colonizers from Europe.

One is struck by the dynamism of this culture; how the humble attempts of a few adventuresome souls developed into a mighty movement creating great convulsions. "History in these four centuries became European history; the rest of the world was colonial history."¹ Impressed by its strength and vitality, Hegel said "The Europeans have sailed round the world, and for them it is a sphere. Whatever has not yet fallen under their sway is either not worth the trouble, or it is destined to fall under it."

The massiveness of the changes that have already taken place, the upsurges which have radically transformed these non-European societies, the ideas that have modified their outlook involve a qualitative break with the past which justly entitles the changes to be described as revolutionary. Particularly in Asia, the period of European control of the states of Asia is a dividing line in their history, for both by resistance and adaptation they have had to call forth.²

But what are the causes of this unprecedented expansion of Western culture? Where are its roots?

Science and technology are among the basic factors in the moulding of the modern world. Till A.D. 1500 there was considerable similarity between the East and the West. But the diversity has now arisen owing to the rapid growth of technology.³ The compass set the direction of expansion and led the European explorers across the uncharted seas to new and mysterious lands of Africa and they Asia, and they established their military superiority by gun-powder, in the first instance, and advanced technology later. Thus, the gun-powder and the compass initiated the rest of the world into a series

of experiences which range between the highest kind of joy born of spiritual communion between two souls, and the most shameful and debasing acts of brigandage and barbarism. Never did the encounter between the two cultures achieve such profound intimacy, rising to glorious heights and falling to abysmal depths.

(II)

the west and the world

How were different countries affected by the West? And what was the final outcome of this encounter? These questions arise in our minds when we contemplate over this tremendously exciting story of the encounter between these two culture patterns of which one seems to be the 'reverse side of the other'. In this encounter the West has always been the winner, the East of the loser, as if, in a given enterprise one had secured all the advantages and the other all the embarrassments.

But it must be clearly understood that neither the East nor the West is a corporate single entity. "Each is a blanket term used to cover a number of separate people and regions in different stages of development. Each has its own individualized culture. There is little in common between an Afghan Muslim and a Filipino Catholic, between a Chinese Taoist and a Ceylonese Buddhist. China, India, Japan have had their own cultural developments even as France and Germany, Spain and Scandinavia had had. We cannot, therefore, speak of a western or an eastern culture, for they have had different sub-varieties—notwithstanding common beginnings. Yet the sum of the affinities which link the sub-cultures of the west is larger than the sum of the affinities which link them to non-western cultures."¹

Russia and the west

Russia's encounter with the West started in thirteenth century, after the subjugation of Russia by Tartars—the

nomads from Steppes. The Western neighbours took advantage of Russia's prostration and annexed White Russia and the western half of Ukraine. In 1610 there was another aggression by the Poles who occupied Moscow for two years. Swedes deprived Russia of her outlet on the Baltic Sea.

These aggressions had two effects on Russia viz., estrangement from the West, which has acquired such huge proportions in our age and the fear of aggression and the desire for security and survival. Consequently, Russians adopt an attitude of resignation to autocratic rule that was tradition in Russia. The present conflict between Russia and the West stems from this point.

Russia's retort to these aggressions from the West have always been to adopt the western technology whole sale together with as much of the western way of life as was inseparable from western technology. Peter, the Great, launched Russia on a technological race with the West. Russia is still running this race.

Besides technology, the West gave to Russia an ideology—the communist creed—a Christian heresy which was a western criticism of the West's failure to live up to her own Christian principles in economic and social life of this professedly Christian society.⁵

Communism transformed Russia and technological advances strengthened it.

Communism as a creed has great force. It is mightier and more potent than the guns and bombs. Russia is using this weapon against the West and in winning allies for herself in those parts of the world where the challenge of poverty is insistent. Thus the conflict between the West and Russia is not political but it has moved to the spiritual plane.⁶

Islamic world and the west

The West came into conflict with the Islamic world in

a different manner. Islam was an aggressor this time. In the seventh century the Muslim Arabs liberated from a Christian Greco-Roman ascendancy a string of countries from Syria to Spain. The Ottoman Turks conquered South Eastern Europe and Asia Minor in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. But the failure of the siege at Vienna in 1682-83 turned the tide against Islam.

The Islamic world, beginning with Turkey, began to adopt Western weapons and the western science of war. Turkey resisted other elements of western culture. They wanted to take just the minimum of dose of technology to keep the 'sick man of Europe' alive. But they did not know that any civilization, any way of life, is an indivisible whole in which all the parts hang together. Western art of war was one facet of the western way of life, and thus any alien society that tried to acquire the art without attempting to live the life was bound to fail. Turkey did fail in its attempt at partial westernization, and had to accept a course of unlimited westernization under Kamal Ataturk. Turkey turned its back upon Islam.⁷

There was one more western institution which entered the entire Islamic world. Nationalism infected this world, whose own ancestral tradition is that all Muslims are brothers in virtue of their common religion. Moreover, the Arab world of Islam was a well knit world with a common religion and a common language, namely, Arabic. Nationalism, as an infection, entered this world and broke it up into twenty mutually interdependent national states living in so many water-tight compartments on the western pattern.⁸ The western culture disrupted the unity of the whole Islamic world and put it on the road in secularism.

the far east and the west

The western civilization assaulted the Far East in sixteenth century. It made its first landfalls on the

coast of China and Japan. In their first encounter with them in the sixteenth century the western intruders were thrown back into the sea. In nineteenth century the west returned to the Far East again. This time they succeeded. In their first attempt the west had offered to Far East their religion. Moreover, their weapons were not so decisively superior. But when they came the second time, their weapons were superior—the industrial revolution had enabled them to equip themselves with such weapons. The Far East had to open its doors to them. But in order to keep the intruder away, some of the Far Eastern countries, China and Japan, learnt the superior Western art of war. They acted just in time and equipped themselves with western weapons. But this was a miscalculation. Foreign technology did not prove a limited liability. And now we find that western culture has made great inroads into the life of these countries. Technology, as usual, acted like a 'fifth column'.

In China this unattached western technology without its religion created a new situation. When it was reinforced by the Western heresy of communism a great country like China made fundamental departure from its indigenous values and culture. Thus communism and technology—both of which were born in the West—changed the entire fabric of Chinese body social.

India and the west

India has been very hard hit by the west. Unlike China, Russia, Japan and the Arab World, the West overran this vast peninsula, conquered it by her military superiority, and ruled it for a long period. Naturally, the iron of western culture went deeper into the soul of India which was deeply affected by the Western technology and ideologies. While technology converted a non acquisitive and a non competitive community of communities into a competitive acquisitive, individualistic and secular society, its religion and liberal thought drew out its dormant vitality and enabled it to rid itself

of many an irrational and unscientific belief. Like the Arab world, it also gave to India nationalism.

Africa and the west

The West went down to Africa about hundred years ago. Africa did not offer much resistance. The Europeans needed the smallest force to subjugate it. Africa was willing and it reacted with a sense of calmness and wonder. There was also the most loving and wonderful readiness on the part of the African to serve to imitate and to follow the Europeans and an unqualified preparedness to love and be loved.

But this enormous silence and willingness was soon exhausted. The west created a great spiritual upheaval in Africa by shaking the black African's sense of security and oneness with life. The West dismantled the African way of life, and at the same time denied them access to their own. Having taken away Africa's way, the West made it impossible for them to acquire another. Therefore Africa is trembling with indignation. She is gripped by a grave fear of losing her soul. It is losing its light.

Asia and Africa began to boil with loud unrest and vocal protest against the intruders

What was the nature of this protest? Was it a frantic effort of these nations to save their souls which they realized, was in danger? Yes to some extent it was so. But mainly it was a political upsurge. The subjugated people demanded the right of self determination. The concept of the nation state which the West brought to this part of the world recoiled against the West like a boomerang. The people of Asia and Africa threw it back in its face and challenged its authority. The world trembled with nationalism.

The magnitude and the intensity of the Asian resurgence can be estimated by the fact that within two generations three revolutions took place in this part of the world—two of these were captured by the Communists and one was accomplished in India.

In 1919 the period of European political domination came to an end in Asia. An important chapter of the story of the encounter between the West and the rest of the world—particularly Asia—was over. Burma, Ceylon, and Pakistan emerged as free states along with India. The story of how one third of the people of the world won their independence is totally new to the history of the world. It is a tremendous fact of our times. How millions of people are waking up after a long sleep. They are stirring, blinking away their drowsiness, stretching the limbs with all the eager impatient spirit of a youth approaching manhood.

(1)

Impact of the west

Now the drums and bugles of nationalism are silent in Asia. The first phase of the contest is over. Asia has emerged victorious but with a difference. She seems to have lost her own distinctive character. A characterless uniformity is being imposed upon it by the Western

technological civilization. It is fast becoming the East end of the Western metropolis.

The receding floods of European political domination and colonialism have left the East in ruins. Its social values, its economic life, its political systems, its art, its literature, its religion, and its system of law all stand dilapidated and unmoored.

The group life, which formed a basis of the social life of Asian countries stands disrupted. The community is dying. The individual stands emancipated, of course, armed with an array of political and social rights.

A non acquisitive and a non competitive society has been transformed by the new economic forces from the West which have led to the creation of a competitive and acquisitive order.

The impingement of the West has given a jolt to the aesthetic values of the East. Its literature shows that Western forms and thoughts are exercising a deep and lasting, and pervasive influence. The novel, the short story, the radio play, the modern drama, and the stage techniques bear an unmistakable impact of the West.

The chief characteristic of the ancient Asian art is that it does not follow the laws of visual or aerial perspective, its sculpture defies anatomy,—all old Asian art is symbolic. It is dying and now new trends and new techniques are competing for supremacy.

Of no less importance are the developments in the field of law and politics. In the East law was embedded in theology. Much of the personal law was based on scriptures. But now parts of the civil law, the public and the constitutional law have undergone considerable changes. The tide is set in favour of man made laws based on public approval. This brings about a great change in the legal systems of all the Asian countries.

Of all the forces which are affecting eastern culture science is the most important. Science, which is the life breath of the Western culture, is drawing Asia's

admiration and homage Asian mind is imbibing its spirit and its discipline, and is applying it progressively to solve the problems of poverty and want. But will these developments affect the philosophy and values of life in Asia, just as it affected the values of medieval Europe when it disrupted its Christian unity?

The two political ideologies of democracy and communism have greatly influenced the Eastern people. Parliamentary democracy has been accepted by many countries—India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan and Nepal. Communism has come to China and Russia. These are now developments in the long history of this ancient societies.

(i)

a great opportunity

The East stands at the portals of a new age. It has many problems to solve and many more battles to fight. But its resources are depleted and it is at present wanting in those skills which will enable it to use the techniques and ideologies the West has handed over to her during the last five centuries.

But however formidable the problems the East has a will to face the future. It is full of determination and passion, and one can observe unmistakable evidences of this passion being translated into action. Asia is on the march again.

The magnitude of the task, the awareness of a common heritage, common dangers, and common objectives have created a sense of solidarity within the Asian countries. Bandung Conference was a supreme expression of Asia's and Africa's will to face the challenge of future collectively, but without any rancour for their erstwhile rulers and exploiters. The Bandung Conference set itself revolutionary targets having four dimensions viz., democratic self government free from foreign

influence, a full measure of human dignity, rapid economic development, broadly shared; abolition of war and creating expanding areas of good will

For these the East stands united. It is determined to set its house in order, sweep clean the wreckage left behind by the retreating West. It is aware of its responsibilities. It feels that it must change rapidly. It knows that if it did not make these rapid changes, it will fade away, stumble, fall and not rise again for a long time.¹⁰

In this hour of grave need, the West has a great opportunity. It can mitigate, to some extent, the wrong it has done to the soul of Asia and Africa. Here is a chance for the West to settle its accounts with the East. The West must come to the assistance of the East—as equal partners in a common adventure to save the civilization. It must come to the East in the spirit of Christian neighbourliness and good charity. The East has a claim on the West and this claim is based on historical and moral foundations which create for her, in turn, very heavy duties towards a world from which she herself was born.¹¹

Moreover, the world is becoming increasingly interconnected—cultures and civilizations are mingling. At present, as it stands, the fundamental distinction between the East and the West have been rubbed off. To-day each one of us is both Eastern and Western. The hopeful and the distressing features of our age are world wide and not peculiar to the East and the West.

Everything hangs together. For total peace, world unity is essential. The present crisis and the new-world order that is struggling to be born would require the entire resources and skills of the entire human race—the spiritual experience of the East and the social and political ideals of the West, the age old experience

of the East and the youthfulness of the West. We need not only closer contact between the East and the West, but a closer union, a meeting of mind and a union of hearts¹²

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THOUGHTS ON THE EMANCIPATED WOMEN

When a French Deputy pleaded for vote for women and remarked how little difference there was between male and female, the entire chamber rose and shouted "*Vive la difference*"

(1)

women and Indian tradition

The process of emancipation of women in India has been comparatively painless, undramatic and undrudging. In the United Kingdom it has been a long drawn out hard struggle. It came on the high tide of our struggle for independence. In our passion for freedom we dissolved out petty social tyrannies. The freedom, India demanded from Britain, could not be denied to the women, and the untouchables. The women, under the leadership of Gandhi, took part in picketting liquor shops, in the boycott of foreign goods, and in the civil disobedience movement. While breaking the chains of India's slavery, they broke their own age old shackles.

In the past also Hindu religion has never taught the inferiority of women. There is no parallel in Hinduism to the story of *Man's fall as a result of Eve's temptation*. She was never accused as 'the torch lighting the way to hell'. In ancient India seclusion of women was unknown. It was only during a few centuries before the British rule that the women were put behind the 'purdah' due to

political and other circumstances prevailing at that time. Otherwise, young girls led free lives, and had a decisive voice in the election of their husbands. They had a share in the property of the father. In the Epic period, they did not suffer from special disabilities.¹ Although there was no charter of the rights of women, they enjoyed position of honour and esteem. The degradation of the status of women is a result of custom rather than belief.

(ii)

emphasis on rights

Therefore, the emancipation came naturally. It involved no protest, no resistance, no debate in any section. And to day we have a series of laws on the rights of women. The constitution has once for all settled the position of women in society. But in a larger sense, emancipation is not merely a sum of legal enactments and constitutional sanctions. In this case law is not the culmination of the process of change, but it is its beginning. We in India do not seem to be fully seized with the sociological and psychological implications of emancipation, which like every other social advance needs to be followed up by several other re-adjustments. And we wonder, whether the process of mental, emotional, and other adjustments, needed for the consummation of this process of emancipation will be equally painless, undramatic, and ungrudging because as matters stands, the moderns still have some out-of-date notions about this problem. Their thinking has been considerably influenced by the early nineteenth century leaders of the feminist movement in the United Kingdom. Their attitude continues to be sentimental and based on the notion of competition and contest. A considerable amount of inarticulate hostility still remains in their thinking, and due to that, their conception of emancipation of women is limited to a crusade against the imagined and the real tyrannies of male members of the human species against the females. They clamour, like Oliver Twist, for more and more rights.

No body can with any justification contest the desirability, the correctness, and the need for these claims to more and more rights. It is quite natural. Since women have discarded all the age old traditional patterns which used to provide them with security—economic and social—they are now anxious to acquire an alternative and, perhaps, a more effective, mechanism of social and economic security. They are eagerly arming themselves to the teeth with these rights.

But rights are not self operating. They need to be rendered kinetic. They need to be interpreted. They need to be intelligently applied to concrete social problems relating to the family. At present legalistic checks and constitutional sanctions are over-emphasized. The women's organisations in the country are, almost exclusively, devoting themselves to the problems of property rights, social legislation against traffic in women, regulation of working hours for women, more maternity benefits demand for creches, and education. All these it will be noted, are only defensive measures with the exception of education. The Indian feminist movement has yet to develop a policy of positive action, which will strengthen the inner defences of the women of India which will give them self assurance self confidence, and suitable social 'know how' to fulfill their destiny and to be effective. Rights are like a steel armour. Weaklings cannot stand their weight, they will stagger under its weight and sink. And even if some manage to stand, it is almost impossible to avoid a Quixotic look.

So far, the problem of the emancipation of women has not been seriously considered from the sociological point of view. The existing pattern of society, its values, its family set up its educational emphasis, the attitudes of the male members of society towards the women, and the institution of marriage continues to be managed according to the needs of pre-emancipated women. That is the rub. But it stands to common sense that the emancipated women require a totally

different milieu—a spacious and n tolerant social habitat. We have somehow managed to cast into a narrow necked jar many precious articles. They will lie there in disuse, if we do not enlarge the container. The feminist movement should explore the possibilities of extending the work in this direction. It must enter the homes and eco and understand the problems and the tensions to which an emancipated woman is subjected to. While the women's organizations are busy leading deputations, passing resolutions, attending long conferences, and indulging in endless debate about the numerous defensive social and legal measures, millions and millions of their lith and kin are engaged in a silent, brave, and exacting struggle against the rigidity of social forms, particularly the inflexibility of the family. They are exerting themselves unaided to evolve suitable patterns of behaviour, action, and values with which to fulfill the claims of their new status. It is a very hard struggle, perhaps more difficult than the fight for emancipation.

(iii)

modern emancipated women

Sometimes the reactions of the emancipated women take an extreme form and there we have the example of a modern emancipated woman—a hot house flower of ephemeral beauty.³ She has arisen in the cities. Her claims to freedom have become a demand for license, which has desecrated the sanctity, which the Indian culture accords to marital relations. They are contaminating a section of society with the farm yard morals, stalking in the garb of free love. At the other extreme is that nice, over adoring educated woman who is anxious to lead a stable, good, and decent domestic life without over emphasizing her right to equality and freedom. She is a consistent and a devoted wife who suffers from the excesses of an aggressive "pati davta" who has one set of standards to judge his own mistress at home, and another set to apply to himself while dealing with other mistresses out side the home. Naturally, the emanci

pated and educated woman cannot be forced to believe in this ideal of 'pati devta' and to be content with the faith that it is her duty to serve and to worship the husband, who is after all a human being. There is no justification for this compulsory merging of the woman's individuality in that of the man. No doubt the desire for adoration, surrender, and self liquidation is an essential attribute of her nature, but that is for a man, and not a god.

Most men have yet to shed their sense of superiority, and learn the art of participating in the great adventure of life in which the wife is an equal partner. Woman, on the other hand has to develop the art of assertively *living her right to equality without bartering away their essential feminine characteristics of grace and tenderness, peace and affection surrender and sacrifice. Aggressive ness, violence, hardness anger are not their typical features.* Therefore, a different conception of the relationship between man and woman is called for. It can not be accomplished in conferences and offices. Every home is a foundry every family a workshop where each man and woman who believes in emancipation, uses his and her will intelligence ingenuity and skill to hammer out this new link, new relationship.

There is one more point to be considered in this connection. So far, the economic dependence of woman on man was one of the bases of relationship between man and wife. The Hindu and the Christian and the Muslim religions share this common point. The family set up acquired its character from this conception. But the educated economically independent woman has enlarged this pattern. She refuses to submit to the domineering postures of man and accept his economic supremacy.

But our behaviours and our attitudes towards women continue to be influenced by the old outlook. A re definition or a re statement is required because the economically independent wife wants recognition of her new status and she dislikes the position

she occupies in the sub conscious mind of the husband, who has failed to realize fully the changed situation

A tremendous effort is required to find a new basis of relationship, which must shift from economic and biological to the intellectual and the spiritual which will render man and wife 'abhi bhakta atma'—undivided souls. Family life becomes a centre of spiritual activity—an act of living faith. Marriage becomes a great exercise in self discipline and self control. Man cannot afford, except at the grave risk of family disruption or unhappiness, to let loose his aggressiveness, superiority complex, harshness, thoughtlessness, and anger against his partner, who in addition to being equally well equipped to give him a retort, is delicate and sensitive. That makes all the difference. Man has to learn to be respectful and understanding, woman, on her part, should learn to be equally firm and independent without compromising her innate characteristics. If man and woman realize their complementariness and base their relationship on equality and mutual respect, they become one.

(iv)

the emancipated women and the family

All Indian families to date are socially joint, although the joint family system has withered away in many respects. The woman, besides being married to her husband, is in another sense, married into the entire family, including cognates and agnates of three generations. Now, this emancipated woman is not prepared for this family pattern which retains many of its pre emancipation characteristics. She wants more freedom, more facilities, and more rights. But due to economic and social conditions this 'socially joint' or the 'joint' family cannot be dispensed with. In the villages this pattern of family persists to a greater degree than in the cities. There is, therefore tension in the minds of the women, there is disturbance in the minds of the more elderly and orthodox members of the family.

But as there is no way out of it, they drift. There are outbursts, up roars, reconciliations and peace, followed by the next and many more encessive rounds the tension remains

But there is also another aspect of the problem, which is more relevant to the Hindu Social system which proceeds on the assumption that the daughter never belonged to the family she is born in. She is like an ornament, held as trust to be given over to the rightful person. But now there are daughters who remain unmarried. This unmarried daughter has created new problem for the Hindu family and its law of inheritance, because she demands the right to her father's property.

The emergence of the emancipated woman as an unmarried daughter, as an economically independent wife, has created a great necessity for overhauling the existing family structure and our mental attitudes.

(1)

emancipated women and marriage

We referred to the unmarried daughter in the previous section. Why do they not get married? There are economic reasons sometimes, sometimes it is ambition sometimes it is due to inability to find suitable partners, either due to very high educational qualifications or due to not being able to find out a person who can give her, her kind of living.

But above all, there is the fear of losing their freedom because domestic duties and motherhood entail considerable amount of restrictions, self sacrifice, adjustment and self abnegation of higher order—virtues which are not emphasised during their education, which on the contrary equip them for a competitive existence, and pronounces their self esteem and ego centric tendencies. Their education does not provide them with the skills and values, with which to reconcile the claims of freedom and the claims of motherhood. Domestic life

has its own drudgery, its own taboos. The outside world of gardens and restaurants, picture houses, parties, and pleasure houses, have an irresistible attraction. The economic independence to which she was used to before has its own self assurance, its own confidence, which is so different from the experience of having to 'depend' upon the husband. And since an emancipated woman has to forgo all these if she takes seriously to her domestic responsibilities, she remains unmarried, if she can afford to do so or to postpone it as far as possible. This is an easier solution, though having its own difficulties and problems. In 1929 the average age of the unmarried educated women was 22 years, in 1949 it rose to 29. The average age of marriage was 24 (India)

But it is a real job for a woman who wants to have the best of both the worlds, to marry and to be free. This demands from her and her husband, a very high order of resourcefulness, and ingenuity by which the creative urges and the qualifications of the women are diverted into their family and building better homes, rather than being converted into a packet of bank notes which in the long run prove to be more bitter than the benefits and the amenities they fetch. To make things more difficult there are children, who further restrict their freedom. All these problems, paradoxes, and conflicts make married life a very difficult and exacting process for those who believe in reconciling the claims of freedom and motherhood, without shabby compromises which, in effect, cost the welfare of the progenies, unhappy conjugal life, and general disharmony.

Finally, a word about the system of arranged marriages. The emancipated women disapprove this procedure of their marriages being arranged by third party. But the social opportunities of free mixing and social functions are very limited. The society has not yet developed a mechanism, which will enable women to make their own choice, which again is conditioned by a series of other factors. While the woman stands emancipated, she has no media through which to exercise her

choice. This again creates tension, maladjustment, and misery.

The emancipation of women is a great challenge as well as an opportunity. It raises formidable sociological and psychological problems, which are more serious and stupendous than what is being tackled by the feminist movement. A new family pattern ; a new and more intelligent basis of relationship between man and wife ; a capacity to harmonize claims of motherhood with the claims of freedom ; a greater social mobility, a more serious effort on the part of the women themselves to effect a balance between her inherent qualities and the opposite characteristic grafted upon her personality by the cult of rights. These make the emancipation of women a challenge and an opportunity.

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NEW DIMENSIONS OF SOCIALISM

The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social economic, and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life

—The Constitution

{/}

what is in a name

'O, be, some other name What is in a name? That which we call a rose, by another name would smell as sweet.' What happened in simple to love stricken Juliet has tremendous value in politics. A name is a concretized expression of the urges and ambitions hopes and aspirations of a people. Given a flag, a slogan, and a name, you can work miracles. There is everything in a name—an avalanche lies locked in it.

And when Congress passed the Ayndi resolution, it baptized our economy, it did not do anything revolutionary. The essence of the resolution is already incorporated in the Article 33 of our Constitution. But what Congress could not do a few years ago it found courage to do it then. What was implicit became explicit. A name worked a miracle once again. It mobilized the entire emotional energies of the people, gave them a purpose, and prepared them for the hard-

ships, and sacrifices of the Second Five Year Plan Full of hope and idealism, it launched the entire country on the next and the more hazardous leg of our journey towards the realization of a Welfare State

If the nineteenth century was the century of free enterprise twentieth century is the century of socialism If nineteenth century saw the hey day of free economy, the twentieth century gave it (in its classical form) a good christian burial when it failed and pushed the world into the worst of depressions, ever experienced by mankind before Since then, communism and democratic socialism have been competing for allegiance of the people of the world Every new country which attains nationhood has to make a choice They have no other third alternative And when Congress passed the Avadi resolution, it merely acted in the spirit of our times Our age expressed itself through this resolution—nothing different and nothing less would have satisfied the Indian masses, to whom socialism is the symbol of hope for a life of prosperity, freedom, justice, and dignity

(ii)

socialistic pattern stated

Socialistic pattern of society is a mere concretized expression of the approach to social reconstruction of Indian Society, as already indicated in the Directive Principles of the State Policy It is not to be regarded as some fixed or rigid pattern It is pragmatic, and not doctrinaire It does not in any way imply the establishment of a highly centralized and regimented society² The national aim is a welfare state and a Socialist Economy,³ in which the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth⁴

The accent on socialist pattern is on the attainment of positive goals, the raising of standards of living the

enlargement of opportunities for all, the promotion of enterprizes among the disadvantaged classes, the creation of a sense of partnership among all sections of the community.⁵ And as regards the means to attain these positive goals, the Plan states that "Economic policy and institutional changes have to be so planned in accordance with the democratic and egalitarian ideals which the country cherishes and is resolved to pursue."⁶

The contents of a Socialistic Pattern has been summarized in the following terms⁷ :—

"The basic objective of a socialistic pattern of society would be the establishment of a social and economic order based on equality of opportunity and on social, economical and political justice";

"Such a society would do away with all distinctions of caste, creed, sex or social and economic status and would ensure the right to work and a living wage to all able-bodied citizens. In other words, a socialistic pattern of society would create conditions for full employment",

"The State shall own or effectively control the principle means of production and material resources of the community in the best interest of the nation",

"The Society shall organize economic system in such a manner that it does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment";

"Systematic attempts are made to increase and speed up the total production of wealth in the country",

"It is also necessary that there should be equitable distribution of the national wealth and the existing economic disparities are reduced to the minimum";

"Such a transformation of the social and economic order must be brought about through peaceful and democratic methods",

A socialistic pattern of society would necessitate a bold decentralization of economic and political power in the form of Village Panchayats and the organisation of small scale and cottage industries on a very wide scale

It is claimed that this pattern is broadly based on Sarvodaya and the principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi.

(iii)

socialism with new dimensions

It appears that the 'Socialistic Pattern of Society' is a blanket term which includes something of many things—a bouquet of flowers culled not from numerous nurseries. In its insistence on peaceful and non-violent methods of change it is almost Gandhian; in its emphasis on economic justice and the uplift of disadvantaged classes it is Marxian; in its passion for liberty and acceptance of the principle of social ownership or control of means of production it is socialist; in its pragmatic approach and the technique of unformulated principles, it is British; and above all, in its broad-basedness, catholicity and synthetic approach, it is thoroughly Indian—like the system of Hindu thought in which the wildest of extremes stand reconciled.

Therefore Indian socialism does not contain some of the classical attributes of European socialism, namely nationalization, extreme concentration of power in the State, and a regimented society.

Naturally, it cannot be so. The European socialist thought, whether it is British, or French or German, was born in an economic situation of which the most distressing feature was the concentration of wealth in few hands and the unequal distribution of the fruits of labour and industry.

In Europe, free economy had helped to produce enormous wealth and socialism tackled the problem of controlling its distribution.

India has no such problems at present. Here wealth has yet to be created, production has still to take place, there is no industrial capitalism. Our problems are more production, how to release the productive forces of the society, and how to mobilize the idle manpower available in the country side. We have to create something before we nationalize or redistribute it.

As her own traditions would have it, and the experience elsewhere have shown, India knows that economic progress without liberty is not worth even a dead mouse. It is also fully aware of the utter futility of violent revolt, which today is useless, because civilization, in spite of its retreats and relapses in other spheres, has found out a more sane and economical alternative for the wasteful, self-satisfying, stupid method of violent change.

Its realization that capitalism is not the only enemy it has to fight with, its passion for liberty, its extreme abhorrence for violence, and the full understanding of its own problems, which are not only economic but social and cultural, have led India to the formulation of an unorthodox socialist programme which will transform a poor, resourceless, agrarian society, beset with the evils caste and class hierarchy, into an egalitarian and progressive society.

If the nineteenth century European socialist thought was a reaction against the evils of the infant industrial capitalism, the twentieth century Indian socialist programme is an answer to the evils of mature capitalism and infant industrial communism. It is a twentieth century democratic socialist revolution which has given new dimensions to the nineteenth century socialist thinking.

It has no parallel anywhere in Europe—neither is the welfare state paradise of Sweden nor in the post-1945 Norway nor the labour England. In these countries they have learnt by experience that it is best to keep private enterprise as the mainspring of material advance. But

the Indian Government is proceeding in the opposite direction, *i.e.*, towards a greater reliance on the State as maker of plans provider of capital and industrial entrepreneur. The Government, not the full free play of market, is to decide the direction of the economy.⁸

marriage of values

In this respect it tends to be socialistic. But the fact that the State has not modified the basic nature of property relations and that it allows for free play of economic forces to work themselves out in certain sectors of the economy, indicates that Indian socialistic thought is not blindly anti-capitalistic. It appears that it does not consider itself the enemy of capitalist values wholly. It does not aim at destroying it, but transforming it and harnessing its productive resources. It assumes that there is no sign of capitalism nearing the point of final crisis when it will finally break down. On the other hand, it seems to believe, that some of the values of capitalism in its modern rejuvenated version, are still valid. Therefore a wise economic policy should utilize them and bend them towards promoting the social welfare. The ideal of the Welfare State and the control of the means of factors of production, instead of breaking class system of the capitalist society, will improve the conditions. But this is not Socialism. It is State Capitalism. As Prof. Cole has put it—'Socialism means a classless society. It implies an economic system under which the distribution of means is got broadly right in the first instance, and does not need to be put right by complicated and wasteful methods of redistribution through taxation and benevolence. It implies, too, the conduct of society's essential affairs, including production, on a basis of partnership and widely diffused responsibility'.¹¹ We wonder, if India's Socialistic pattern of society conforms to these notions. Are we moving towards a classless society?

But India has taken only a pragmatic view of this situation. It appears to have left for the theoreticians

to decide the big academic question, whether the co-existence of public and private enterprise, the Welfare State and nationalization constitute socialism or not. It is concerned with the practical value of a scheme in terms of higher production and reduction of inequalities and not its abstract logical consistency and wholeness.

public ownership without nationalization

And even in those spheres in which the strategic control of basic and other industries has been accepted as a matter of policy, Indian Socialist programme has not gone in for wholesale nationalization.

When a government decides to take initiative in economic enterprises it may adopt any of the three forms of organisation, namely, departmental management, or public co-operation or to have companies set up under regular laws. The shares of the companies are held in the name of government officials, it is accountable to shareholders and not to the public, although its capital is derived from the Parliament. India in majority of its public enterprises has adopted this company set up. This system of private limited company form of organization is a unique feature of the Indian socialist practice. There is not a single enterprise out of nearly 20 or more government undertakings, which has been modelled on the British corporation pattern.

This is an unorthodox and 'unsocialistic' device, in the traditionally accepted sense of the term Socialism which is equated with nationalization. Public corporation is an instrument of distributive justice in other countries. But in India the policy of public control of means of production is an instrument of economic initiative. It constitutes a leading sector, which will prime the pump of industrial growth and will generate new industrial employment, and create general economic surpluses out of which future growth will be financed.

But the question is why did India adopt this private limited company pattern of organization. The wholesale

nationalization needs an army of trained personnel of all grades, technical know how, sufficient financial resources, and managerial skill of the highest order. India has none of these in adequate measures. In almost all the new industrial undertakings there is the need of technical assistance of foreign firms, which may be arranged either through management contracts, or partial ownership. Now, it seems inappropriate to give foreign shareholders an equity in a public corporation, which is an arm of State whose sovereignty is not shareable. Since it is imperative for India to have foreign technical assistance at the stage, the private limited company is a convenient form in which their participation can be made possible without the State having to share its sovereignty with them.

This form of organisation is novel. India has modified the traditional methods of public control of means of production. It is evolving its own variety of socialist forms.

social and other items of the programme

Indian Socialistic programme has a social aspect. It is not solely an economic programme. It has a social outlook. It aims at promoting social democracy in which caste, communalism, and provincialism will not exist. It depreciates all forms of social and legal disabilities as well as reactionary customs and usages. A revolutionary programme of rural development has been launched in the form of Community Development Programmes. It aims at making far-reaching changes in the educational system.

Its agrarian policy is to eliminate all intermediaries between the State and the farmer. The private ownership of land has been conceded and the State does not intend to interfere with this pattern of property relations as far as land is concerned. The upper limit for the acquisition of land for the purpose of future has been laid down.

Thus the Socialistic Pattern of Society, is a very broad based programme of action. Is it socialism in the accepted sense of the term ?

(iv)

freedom and welfare state

As stated above, the objective in India is to set up a Welfare State and Socialist economy. Such a broad programme of action has its own advantages and disadvantages. But what is important is the magnitude of the task which the State, as the mainspring of economic initiative, has decided to take upon itself. It is no small job to convert a feudal, caste ridden, and under-developed society into a dynamic, industrial, modern egalitarian society. In Russia this was achieved by Communism, which has proved to be a very effective form of organization to carry out such a stupendous task of converting a feudal agrarian order into a modern economy. We, in India, have discarded this method outright. While it would be necessary to devise an equally effective system of organization, we must see to it that we do not bring a democratic despotism in place of communistic tyranny.

For the sake of promoting welfare activities, the State is acquiring very large powers and responsibilities, and as the present tendencies indicate, the State, in the future, might become very powerful, if certain correctives are not applied from the very beginning. There must be more provisions to safeguard individual liberty by instituting a pattern of political and economic decentralization.

In an acquisitive capitalistic order, freedom is legally assured, but men are powerless to enjoy their freedom because they are threatened by poverty, insecurity and social inequalities. The concept of welfare state, which involves a programme of extending public welfare, remove these barriers to freedom. But as the frontiers of

the positive state enlarge, more restraints on absolute rights of individuals are needed to stop the individuals from doing what they pleased with their property. This necessitates large measure of control and public ownership. The evils of Dickensian age can be swept away by planning and social legislation. But this process creates new dangers to liberty !

The establishment of a welfare state implies the development of a huge and complex organization in a modern society. Power gets concentrated in the State, big businesses, the near state monopolies as radio, education, and democratic political parties.

In India the control of private limited company form of organization would also require a class of managers who should operate these companies. The very fact that the state is the mainspring of economic initiative presupposes a large measure of power in the hands of civil servants. Are we not working for the dissolution of one set of classes and creating new classes in their place ? Will not the economic life be influenced by the bureaucrats and the managers ? What safeguards have been provided for against the society degenerating into a managerial society ? A new despotism is in the offing. The next stage of the development of a mature capitalist society is perhaps managerial state. The statement regarding the Socialist Pattern of society gives no clear answer and provides no check to this tendency. What are we going to do when, after sometime, the growth of a full fledged welfare state creates this new class of managers and bureaucrats in whose presence freedom will erode and initiative will wither away.

(r)

socialistic pattern and sarvodaya

It is said the Socialist pattern of society is broadly based on the ideal of Sarvodaya. For that matter, in

so far as its insistence on peace and non-violence is concerned, it could claim its inspiration from Buddhism. The mere fact that some of its programmes include items, such as, cottage industries, handicrafts, and village panchayats, as mere agencies of governmental policies, does not imply that it is based on Sarvodaya. A few splinters of constructive programme do not give it a Sarvodaya base.

Sarvodaya implies acceptance of the principle that fundamental changes can not be brought about by coercive powers of the State. But in India we are moving towards the creation of a strong state and centralization of political power. There is no chance of it ever withering away gradually. Day after day it is becoming more and more powerful.

Sarvodaya aims at making men and women self-sufficient in respect of their primary requirements. But we are moving in a different direction.

It believes in controlled mechanization. According to Sarvodaya, our planning should be based on faith in man and not merely on faith in science, or techniques and industrialization. But the socialist programme is committed to large scale industrialization.

Sarvodaya believes in panchayats as constituent units of a political structure. But today panchayats are mere state agencies intended to carry out the will and wishes of a powerful government from above.

There is a vital difference between the two. The Socialist Pattern is not based on Sarvodaya as a social philosophy. How can it be—with its excessive reliance on state action, with its almost religious attachment to machine (the village industries have been accepted as short term measures to ease the problem of employment till such time alternate opportunities in large scale industries are found) and there is no provision for promoting regional, if not individual self-sufficiency, in respect of

primary requirements A Welfare State plus Socialist economy is not Sarvodaya

(17)

Well, whatever its nature, the experiment of establishing the Socialist Pattern of society in India, is of great historical importance and it has great significance for the world in general and underdeveloped countries in particular. An invisible competition is going on between China and India—two great nations with an equally great heritage—each striving to reach similar objectives by different methods. The rest of Asia and Africa is watching this contest with interest and concern. We can best appreciate the crucial importance to the future of mankind of what Nehru is doing in India—if not anything else the socialist experiment in India demonstrates that there is a human and liberal alternative to the Stalin's way of developing a backward country. But for this, the backward countries would have no practical alternative model but that provided for them by Communism.¹⁰ If it succeeds, we would have dealt a non-violent blow to communism in other parts of the world.

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SARVODAYA

In nineteenth century the danger was that God is dead in twentieth century the problem is that man is dead. The danger of the past was that men became slaves, the danger of the future is that man may become robots

—*Erich Fromm*

(i)

a fly in the web

The individual has been the fondest child of history during the last two centuries when in a glorious bid to liberate himself from the age old oppression and tyranny, five major revolutions were conceived and completed, constitutions were unmade and remade and bitter battles were fought and won

Freedom is a tonic. The very concept of individual freedom generated dynamism and gave rise to phenomenal constructive activity. The story of man during the period is a record of his brave attempts to build a society based on freedom, justice and equality. And fortunately, those oppressions and disabilities from which the individual suffered before the French Revolution and American War of Independence no longer plague mankind. But even then his freedom is not secure. The individual is subjected to a different set of disabilities. The very structure and the size of the free society places consider

able restrictions on the liberty and the independence of the individual

We have built a defensive civilization. Society is too vast and too massive to be comprehended in one view. It is bewildering in its complexity, and staggering in its dimensions—a mighty web of gigantic textures in which the individual hangs like a fly. It is a jungle of associations, organizations, and institutions of every form, size, and variety. Poor individual, he is caught in the entangled meshes of luxuriant over growth which impede progress, and strangle his initiative. It is a top-heavy society which is suffering from over organization, excessive institutionalization, and surfeit of unequally distributed power—financial, political, economic, and a mania for technology. Our age is suffering from megalomania and excesses of every kind.

For example, there is the powerful state, equipped with unflinching methods of control and persuasion. It is omnipotent. Its pervasive influence reaches out into the private chambers of individual life. In the name of welfare the state is appropriating to itself, with the consent of the ruled, more and more powers. It tends to be oligarchical.

The economic set up is mystifying and extremely intricate. An average citizen can hardly understand it and give his enlightened opinion on the basic economic problems which affect him. Economic decisions have become a preserve of a few experts, and the rest have only to abide by them.

The social mechanism through which the individual expresses himself is cumbersome and over loaded with tedious formalities and procedures.

In short the individual is dominated by numerous gigantic and imponderable factors which are beyond his reach. He is helpless before these modern dinosaurs. He seems to have become a prisoner to his own creations. A new Bastille peopled with a new aristocracy of bureau

crats, party bosses, political leaders, industrial magnates, and technicians have arisen. Every where there is a craze for organization, a flare for excessive institutionalization, and almost a religious devotion to the techniques We begin great things with a view to promoting the welfare of the individual. But all our efforts end in a heap of documents, a plethora of procedures leading to the construction of institutions.

The individual—the free individual—is a modern Prometheus bound to numerous rocks of mighty institutions. He is buried under a stack of organizational procedures, quantities, crowds and machines.

Sarvodaya is an answer to these excesses of the age—high degree of institutionalization, surfeit of ill distributed power, ill of violence, the tyranny of over organization and the disadvantages of massive structures. It is a corrective to this over grown technological civilization. It stands for the freedom of the individual from the tyranny of his erstwhile benefactors—the scientist, who built for him a carnival instead of a civilization, and the social scientist who built for him a new Red Fort, instead of a simple home.

(ii)

sarvodaya—its meaning

The term Sarvodaya, which literally means welfare and uplift of all, can be interpreted in two ways, namely, uplift and welfare of all sections of society, and all aspects of life of the individual and the society.

The words uplift and welfare are significant. Welfare implies improvement in the same direction and at the same plane. The original constituents of a given situation, remain relatively unchanged over a period of time. It does not involve basic changes.

But uplift implies elevation, an upward movement—a new equilibrium. It is a self exceeding activity in which

we move from a lower state of experience to a higher state of experience

Progress, as a process involves uplift as well as welfare. Sarvodaya is a philosophy of integration. It aims at uplift as well as welfare of the society and the individual. It believes that life is indivisible, and it must be treated as a whole. There is a harmony at the heart of the things. Differences are superficial, they are a kind of optical aberration. The individual interest and social interest, the material and the spiritual, are inseparable. Therefore, the programmes and policies of social construction should be based on an integrated or 'totalitarian' view of life and society. The French Revolution gave us the conception of political rights of man, and the nineteenth century social thought is dominated by this concept. The Russian Revolution revealed that political rights unaccompanied by economic rights are useless. The post First World War period thinking was dominated by this notion. In none of these revolutionary ideas the individual and society were treated as a whole and together. Synthesis is the key note of Sarvodaya. Science, western rationalism, liberal democracy, economic equality, and freedom have been recombined and integrated into an Indian background, in a new relationship, or in a new equation in which the human factor, though unverifiable and unpredictable, is the constant -k

Any philosophy of social construction must take a 'totalitarian' view of man and his milieu. It should develop a programme which will cater to his requirements as a whole. An individual cannot achieve mental, physical and spiritual balance in a society which is torn by internal dissensions. He needs the peace of a classless society, and the freedom of a stateless society to achieve this harmony. Sarvodaya, as an ideal, aspires to create such conditions for man. 'We have to progress from a state of good government to the ultimate state of freedom from government.'

The utilitarian believed in "maximum benefit of the

maximum numbers" That social pattern was not concerned with the welfare of the rest

The communist doctrine believes in "the dictatorship of proletariat", who replace the capitalist

✓ Democracy is a rule of the majority In a sense, this is another form of group supremacy None of these systems think in terms of the total uplift of all sections Society remains in a state of perpetual conflict, because those who are suppressed keep waiting for an opportunity to overthrow their adversaries Sarvodaya can deliver social system from this perpetually wasteful, irrational, and avoidable cycle of revolution and counter revolution Sarvodaya does not suggest the creation of the hegemony of a part over the rest

In short, the Sarvodaya is not an organization It is an idea It conceives of progress as movement which takes place in all directions It is a synthesis, in the best sense of the word The programme of Sarvodaya is 'a programme of decentralized democratic village economy, based on agriculture with a minimum of big industry and heavy technology and that controlled for the benefit of all, and, all political government subject to the consent of the governed refusal of consent to be made effective in the last resort by mass Satyagraha' In short, it is a programme of economic and political decentralization, controlled mechanization, and agrarian uplift by democratic, non-violent, and truthful methods

(iii)

power

Power, in modern times tends to get concentrated or localized in a few hands Whether the power is political or financial or industrial or educational, it is unequally distributed within the nation as well as between the nations It is injurious for those who are in power, and also for those who are subjected to it "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely and inevitably" Those who live under the hegemony of these powerful

Interests, are bound to be reduced to a state of a new slavery in which there is a semblance of freedom without its essence. The individual is subjected to a new kind of subordination in all spheres. He is ineffective, as an individual. He must belong to an organization before he can get his grievance redressed.

The fault is not with the individual or those who are in power. It is due to the immense size of national political organizations, and the units of governance. We live in mass societies—a vast sea of numbers which exist every where, although it is not such a great evil in small nations like UK, Norway, Switzerland etc.

The concentration of power is more in political than in financial spheres. For example, democracy, in modern state tends to be oligarchical. It is not the fault of democracy or those who are responsible for working it. The trend is not inherent in democracy. But it is due to the large size and the great number of people—i.e. organization at a large scale—a kind of gigantism.

It is in the very nature of things that an average individual should recoil at the prospects of having to take a decision on matters on which he does not have full data. He is not competent, by virtue of his training and education, to comprehend such colossal problems affecting large numbers. Moreover, he has little time to think about such matters of public importance because he is very busy with his own problems. Therefore, in a large measure, people must delegate decisions to a relatively few representatives. This scale drawing patterns or the method of graphic representation, namely, 100 miles=1 inch, and 75,000 people=1 representative, is easy.

This kind of gigantism operates every where, in the state, the industry, the trade unions, the schools, the universities, the political organizations, the business houses, and the offices. It is dangerous for the freedom of the

individual. Therefore, efforts must be made to extricate him from the membership of such large organizations by emphasizing smaller units of organization, which an average individual can comprehend, and in which he can participate.

Sarvodaya supports the idea of decentralization of political power, and splitting large units into smaller manageable units. This is a rational alternative to the concentration of power. Whether democracy or communism all political systems tend to be "totalitarian". In some instances it is concealed and in some it is open and unabashed.

It is possible to decentralize political power to peripheral units without lowering the standards of administrative efficiency and control.

Gandhi suggested Gramraj or Panchayat Raj for India. But his conception of panchayats was different from the one with which we are familiar in India today. At present panchayats are governmental agencies, which carry out the will of the provincial authority. They are administrative units. But Sarvodaya conceives of Panchayats as constituent units of the political structure of the country, and not as agencies or some sort of annexe to the main political set-up. The decentralization may take the following form :

The system should start from the bottom. "Village Panchayats will be members of Taluka Panchayats consisting of 20 villages or a population of 20,000. The President of Taluka Panchayats will constitute District Panchayats and so on to the Provincial and All India Panchayats. Thus the system envisaged is a like that of a pyramid whose broad base is composed of numberless village communities. The higher Panchayats will tender sound guidance and information, supervise and co-ordinate the activities of village panchayats"¹.....

Only in such small republics in which face to face intimate contacts with each other are possible, and by

participating in their own affairs, and by solving their own problems, can the individual feel the joy of freedom. He will feel more confident and self-assured under this system of self-government.

The representative pattern of democracy tends to be oligarchical in the long run. "Twenty or more men at the centre cannot work democracy. It had to be worked from below." Political decentralization will enable us to re-instate the individual, and give him freedom.

economic centralization

There is one more vital sphere of human life in which centralization of power is taking place rapidly. It is the economic life of the individual. "There is a tragic alliance between society as a whole and its economic conditions. With grim relentlessness these conditions tend to bring up the man of today as a being without freedom, without self-collectedness, without independence, in short as human being so full of deficiencies that he lacks the quality of humanity." This is particularly true in highly developed industrial countries, which have adopted the mass-scale production and distribution techniques. Millions and millions of propertyless workers who have no source of their own depend abjectly upon the private or the public employers, or the state for their incomes. This kind of economic dependence is not compatible with civil and personal liberty. The workers, under these circumstances, tend to be dependent upon the grace and good will of the bosses.

In order to protect themselves against their oppression and safeguard their interests, the workers combine and form unions which are themselves as gigantic and highly centralized as are the industries. The workers are subjected to two oligarchies—the factory boss and the party boss. "Self-government which is the essence of democratic freedom, is more or less completely absent from their professional lives."

The individual once again is imprisoned in the vast productive mechanism of society which in turn tends to be dominated by managers, bureaucrats, financiers and industrialist.

What is the way out of it? Decentralize productive techniques as much as possible so that each individual can ply his own tools and earn a livelihood. The individual should become his own employer or the member of a co-operating community working for subsistence and local market. This is a rational solution to the problem of economic centralization.

It is generally argued that large scale production techniques are economical in the sense, they yield more production at low cost. But the question of the freedom of individual cannot be dismissed on the grounds of economic efficiency. Freedom is of vital importance.

But even from the point of economic efficiency, it has been found that the applications of mass production techniques are not economical for the production of all the goods. More than 50% of the goods can be produced economically without resorting to mass scale production techniques.¹⁰

The programme of Sarvodaya supports decentralization of economic power. The individual will feel free, if he is emancipated from these gigantic organizations. The Sarvodaya programme of decentralization aims at making every village in India self-sufficient in terms of its primary requirements. It believes in production for consumption rather than for export outside the village or the country. It is not difficult to decentralize industrial production techniques. The scientific research which has so far been applied to invent large machines can be used in inventing small machines as well.

This brings us to another aspect of decentralization—dispersion of population in rural areas or efforts to con-

trol urbanization which is essential because unequal distribution of power between cities and countryside is fraught with dangers. It would render rural economy dependent upon cities. No country can afford the process of urbanization to the extent that even for its food supplies it should depend upon others. At all cost, a country and the regions within the country must strive to realize food self sufficiency, if it is to survive as a respected nation. It is necessary to strengthen the agrarian base of its economy, and not to rush head long into uncontrolled industrial expansion.

Uncontrolled industrialization at the cost of agriculture and food self sufficiency is suicidal. It involves reckless exploitation of land resources, "If civilization is to avoid a long decline such as has blighted North Africa and the Near East for thirteen centuries and for centuries yet to come, society must be born again out of an economy of exploitation to the economy of conservation". Industrialization puts considerable strain on the natural resources. For example, it is a great drain on our forest resources. This exploitation is shocking. A single 'Sunday edition of the New York Times, for example, requires ten acres of big trees to supply the necessary wood pulp for its paper. There are many other news papers of equal size in USA and 52 Sundays in every year, to say nothing of week days and all the other uses of paper".¹²

U.K. industrialized at the cost of agriculture, and neglected its problem of food supply. It was not a wise policy. Industrial progress leads to urbanization, which implies a decrease in the area available for cultivation. And as the population increases the increasing demand for supply of food supply has either to be met by intensive cultivation or by imports. No country would like to depend upon others for its major part of its food supply. Therefore, it will resort to intensive cultivation (specially by machines), which in the long run lowers the fertility of land. The law of diminishing

returns sets in. Consequently the exploitation of land at this rate, together with the inroads which industrialization makes on forest resources raise a very serious problem of soil erosion.

"In its present degree, speed, and widespreadness, soil erosion is relatively new in human history only about 250 years old. We are told by the best of soil expert that soil erosion is taking place at a great pace in North and South America and the countries around the Mediterranean. Every empire, through history has ended in desert. What is now the Sahara Desert was once the flourishing wheat growing areas of Roman Empire. The present dessicated lands of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and parts of Arabia were sites of great empires of Babylonia, Sumeria and Ur Persia. Greece is mostly barren"¹³

Industrialization, uncontrolled industrialization, will aggravate this situation in various ways. What is the solution for this fundamental problem, which if left unattended may prove to be the doom of our civilization. Soil erosion, which is an equal of not a more potent danger than that of atomic warfare or radiation, can be stopped, if we go slow with industrialization, and do not fail to build a strong, self sufficient agrarian economy.

(iv)

machine and man

Sarvodaya is not opposed to machine. Machine is man's triumph over nature. Even charkha is a machine. It is indefensible to oppose machine, as such. According to the ideals of Sarvodaya, machine should not eliminate man. It must serve man rather than be his master. Our term of reference is the individual — his welfare, as a live, unique full-statured man must determine the extent to which machine should be employed.

Mechanization has assumed the stature of a faith. We place machine, particularly, mass scale production machine, at the centre of our discussions and then proceed to formulate economic policies. Sarvodaya is opposed to this approach. It stands for a different approach, viz., to keep man, to remember the individual, and formulate the economic policies and to fix a limit to which machine should be allowed to enter economic life. In public utilities, defence industries, and basic industries, mechanization is justifiable. But for primary requirements and consumption goods—the mass scale production machines should be avoided as far as possible.

Technology is a Trojan horse¹⁴ which enters a body social innocently but after its entry unfolds a series of complications which create a series of problems for the social and cultural life of a people. But since machine cannot be dispensed with, controlled mechanization is a compromise which can be made with modern age. Machine should not enter the sphere of primary requirements of life—a vital activity which should be protected against the intrusion of machine. Mechanization of life starts when the machines produce these primary requirements.

Excessive mechanization has serious consequences for the civilization. It leads to abstractification and quantification of life. We create mass societies, in which men are mere digits. Man becomes estranged from himself. He is not the master of the situation. But his acts and their consequence becomes his masters. He is out of touch with himself, his neighbours, his job, and his community. "In industry the person becomes an economic atom that dances to the tune of atomistic management. Your place is just here, you will sit in this fashion, your arms will move x inches in a course of y radius and the time of the movement will be 000 minutes. Life, in such processes being dead, the need to control, creativeness curiosity, and independent thought are being balked, and the result, the inevit

able result, is flight or fight on the part of the worker, apathy or destructiveness psychic regression.¹⁵ These are the inevitable consequences which should follow when machine takes possession of man. Our civilization is exposed to two dangers created by excessive mechanization automatization and alienation.¹⁶ Neither communism nor capitalism nor socialism offer any answer to these problems. They have nothing to avert the imminent death of the son of French Revolution—the free individual.

(v)

economy of expansion

Our is a speed sustained social structure—particularly the economic structure. It remains in health so long as it is working at an accelerated speed. The wheels of the factories must move faster and faster and bring into the market more and more goods and services for more and more people, who in turn work more and more feverishly to be able to acquire more and more money to buy these goods and services. Newer and newer, and lower and lower, margins of demand must be tapped, every day, by insistent propaganda and continuous advertisement campaigns. The system moves in ever widening circles—a mounting spiral—going up and up and up to a point of no return. Keynes multipliers operate blindly, when they reach the human limits. Then the momentum of the expansionist economy drags after it the social system which ceases to be the master of the situation. The economics of the expansionist economy conditions the social values and arrangements. For example, if you have idle machines they would prefer to make the machines work and render human beings idle. It is in the very nature of our expansionist economy. It is an irreversible process without brakes. An economy which is based on the expansion of demand and therefore on the expansion of desires has its own glamour, but it is a restless insatiable and unstable system, which must end in speed as it originated in speed.

Beyond a particular point it is not desirable to stimulate demand. Sarvodaya discards this expansionist economy. It advocates an economy of service—rather than an economy of monkeys, tigers and birds—an economy which moves at a speed at which man and society also can move.

(ii)

going back ?

It is sometimes said that this programme of Sarvodaya would be 'going back'. It is not so. There is nothing sacred about techniques. They should be accepted so long as they serve the needs of man and society. Modern techniques of production, organization and governance would lead the world back to new forms of slavery, robotism and desert. The largeness of the dimensions over organization and size and complexity of modern society are striking at the very roots of the small working groups which alone can produce co-operation which is the basis of civilization. Power amassed in mighty monuments is susceptible to destruction. But power, whether it is of resources or science or state or finance, does not corrupt if it is distributed all over the society amongst individuals or in small groups. Palm trees or pines can be uprooted by storms. But even the worst of the hurricanes have no power to uproot the grass. Power should be diffused throughout the length and breadth of the country amongst its people, organized in small working groups.

This is the only method to re-instate the individual, who at present is buried under the dead weight of institution, rules, regulations, laws and legislations, and who is suffering from the excess power and large sized societies.

Change and progress are different things. All change is not progress. Civilization changes but does not progress.¹⁷ As Russell put it, change is a scientific term, progress has a moralistic implication. Modern technology

embodies change, it is not necessarily progress, because it does not elevate. It promotes only welfare. Sarvodaya means uplift as well as welfare. Progress, if it is real, must involve a movement in respect of both. It is wrong to make a fetish of technology. Sarvodaya is not against modern technology but it accepts it with wide reservations.

Sarvodaya as a philosophy of social construction, at its present stage, is not a system. It has yet to become a system of thought. It is an idea, a point of view, a revolutionary point of view. Gandhi, the founder of this modern faith is dead. It would require another genius, who will do for Sarvodaya, what Lenin did for Marxism. It is not the prerogative of politicians and political bosses to guide their followers along untried tracks and experiment with great ideas. It needs the courage of conviction of a prophet and the genius of a great builder.

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PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Democracy will meet its Waterloo in Asia

—Chester Bowles

(I)

a unique experiment

India is trying to bring about an economic revolution under the auspices of parliamentary institutions. This experiment has no parallel in the history of mankind, it has never been done before. America did not do it, Great Britain did not do it, but as destiny would have it, it is India's great opportunity. If it succeeds in India democracy will be accepted unreservedly in Asia and Africa. If it fails in India it will also fail elsewhere.

It was a momentous act of faith when, ten years ago Indians gave to themselves a monumental constitution in which are enshrined India's aspirations to realize the highest values of freedom, justice, and equality. The Indian people have devoted themselves wholeheartedly to this noble task of giving concrete shape to these great principles.

India went to polls twice and conducted elections on the basis of universal suffrage among the people of whom a majority are illiterate and semi-illiterate. All—men and women, untouchables and brahmins and aborigines—participated in these elections with discretion. They

brought down many a stalwart and created new precedents, such as the Communist success in Kerala. In addition to this mass support, an efficient administration and a devoted leadership has been exerting themselves to realize the same objective. Consequently, under a stable government, the citizens enjoy considerable freedom to hold opinions, to organize themselves in groups and parties, and to criticize the government policy and administration freely. The press in India enjoys considerable freedom and prestige.

During the last ten years many healthy democratic institutions and traditions inside and outside the parliament have been set up. The checks which India's attachment to law and democracy impose on the government have been developed and are working effectively. The courts, for example, have held that government cannot prevent children of parents whose mother tongue is not English, from going to schools where English is the medium of instruction. They have held that the government cannot take over the management of a badly managed concern without paying compensation for the management's loss and the right to manage it; that the government cannot legally create a road transport monopoly for itself; that a State Government cannot prohibit the use of medicinal wine; that compensation for property taken over must be at full market value. In all these and many other instances, there has never been a case where the executive has defied the courts, or has tried to impose its will regardless of the law. Thus the judiciary in India has established great traditions of independence and impartiality as a protector of the fundamental rights.

The Government changes its policy to satisfy the electorate. For example, the Central Government did not like the ban on cow slaughter, but it allowed the states to do it, if the public opinion favoured it. The Central Government lost revenues due to prohibition, but it did not stop the states from enacting prohibition laws. Indians have shown faith in demo-

cracy and democratic principles. So much so that in the fiery furnace of its passion for democracy many a violent and bloody creed has been melted and transformed. Even Communism in India had to bow to the democratic will of the people. The communists had to unlearn many of their revolutionary dogmas. They realised that open class conflict may no longer be inevitable in India where revolution will not follow the textbook pattern. The communists had to do hard rethinking. It is a triumph of democratic forces in India that for the first time a Communist Party formed a government based on electoral victory achieved through constitutional parliamentary democratic procedures—a contingency never anticipated by Marx. As a her tradition she seems to have succeeded in taming the bear and making it dance the Indian way.

(ii)

the vast undone

Democratic values freedom tolerance and rational belief are a part of India's intellectual and moral equipment. Even in the past India had been practising democratic values in all the village communities. The republics of Vaishali were democratic. In recent times the Congress and other political parties had been working democratically for several years.

It was in continuity of this heritage that India achieved so much in so short a time. Any country can justly feel proud of it. But much remains to be done. The little done pales into insignificance before the vast undone. Success should not blind the vision and drug the spirit.

But India has yet to infuse into this framework the soul of democracy. Moreover new forces new influences its own weaknesses and shortcomings which do not appear dangerous at present are secretly gathering momentum to overthrow the democratic structure India has built with such care and devotion. The future of demo

cracy will rest upon India's capacity to find out suitable answers and checks to these weaknesses

In India the challenge to democratic ideas comes from four quarters: communism, scientific technology, the economic backwardness and some of the weaknesses of democracy in India

communism

The challenge of communism is a spiritual challenge. It is a new Christian heresy and like all other heresies it has power to move the hearts of people by holding out to them a great promise of better life in a brief period. As a form of government it is equally impressive. Russia could convert a backward feudal country into a modern industrial power within forty years. No doubt communism in India is undergoing changes but still the forces of democracy in India will have to reckon with it. India will have to give to the people a vision, an ideology equally attractive and perhaps more purposeful than communism. It will have to hasten and introduce fundamental changes. It will have to improve its administrative efficiency if this revolution has to spare itself the fate of Houmintang.

technology

Though seemingly innocent technology is also a real challenge. Improved means of communication and transportation tend to strengthen the state and give it unprecedented powers of coercion and persuasion. It tends to promote economic and political centralization. The actual process of industrialization involves imposing restrictions and the curtailment of liberty. Although Indians have faith in democracy yet Kerala has shown that if they were asked to choose between economic stagnation, combined with democratic nepotism and administrative inefficiency and communism they will choose to abandon democracy. Parliament does not grow rice nor cabinets construct works and irrigation projects.

India is a vast sprawling country—a sub continent. Democratic governments having to operate over large areas, and having to deal with large numbers of people in a complicated society tends to be oligarchical in its operation—the rule of a few over the many. Its effectiveness depends upon the intellectual and moral judgment of the people, and the honesty, integrity, vision, spirit of moderation and perseverance of the leaders at the top. Therefore, decentralization of political and economic power to peripheral units is the only corrective against the concentration of power rendered possible by technological advancement. India must address herself to this basic task, which is liable to get obscured by our need of a strong centre for the sake of economic planning and industrialization. It will have to evolve a democratic pattern in which technology does not become, in the longrun, a determining factor in shaping the political institutions.

There is poverty: how far and how quickly and effectively can India a democratic system promote economic and social welfare, upon this also rests the future of democracy in India. In India the masses are impatient to cast off their degradation and lead a life of dignity and prosperity.

its own weaknesses

Democracy is not an institution: it is not merely a form of government. It is a way of life—a culture—in the widest possible sense of the term or a value which must inform every act of the individual and the society.

A caste ridden and hierarchical social order ill goes with a democratic government. But the virus of caste in India has corrupted its social life beyond repair. Casteism threatens to demolish the strongest bulwark of unity and democracy in India, namely, the Congress. It has entered the administration, the educational system, the legislative assemblies, the hospitals and the public services.

co operative thinking

Literal vigilance is the price of liberty. But in India this is wanting. 'Democracy can function satisfactorily only if there is constant and increasing co operation between the public and the government. It is only by co operative thinking of thousands of people working through voluntary organizations, that ideas and policies are formulated in a democratic state. It is the wide spread existence of such organizations academic, voluntary, functional at political social, and economical levels that provides the necessary back ground of ideas for a democratic government. This co operative thinking on essential issues is what provides both the framework of criticism and the machinery for independent thought. Thus trade unions, chambers of commerce, research institutions, conferences are equally the organs of democratic state as are the formal institutions like parliaments and legislative bodies'. Unless the citizens of a state take continuous interest in the development of ideas and their popularization, democracy cannot function. The duty of the citizens does not stop with their voting at the elections. In India this kind of co operative thinking has not yet fully developed. Still there is considerable amount of apathy and a tendency to allow matters to drift.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that in the name of welfare activities the state is acquiring large powers, and it is enlarging its sphere of activities. Therefore this makes it all the more necessary for the people to be exceptionally careful by showing awareness of the dangers inherent in such a situation.

the cult of personality

There is a tendency to excessive adoration and deification of the leaders. The struggle for independence gave birth to a number of great leaders who, by sheer force of personality, were able to evoke the loyalty of millions of their countrymen. But 'democracy as a system, is ---

mal times requires dispersed leadership for its success'. But In India the politics are personality centred. Here worship—blind hero worship—which is a common phenomena—blunts the edge of public criticism and makes it uncritical and complacent. It should be realised that in the ultimate analysis, people themselves are the safe depositories of the rights of the people.

education

In India there is adult suffrage. But as her problems gets more and more complicated, the masses will find it difficult to exercise their judgment on vital and complicated political issues. India has not yet established a dynamic system of education which will serve her continuing needs. An illiterate electorate is liable to be exposed to demagogues, corruption nepotism, and to all sorts of mal practices. Universal suffrage must be followed by universal education. Unlike India in U K the universal suffrage followed universal education. The educational reconstruction must be undertaken with an eye upon the present problems which should be understood in relation to the needs of a society which is bound to grow complex with the passage of time.

opposition parties

There are two aspects of the problem of opposition in India firstly, the prevalent notion that democracy cannot function without opposition, and secondly the absence of an effective opposition and the existence of a near one party rule. Every right-thinking citizen feels strongly about the second but very few think in terms of questioning the parliamentary democracy based on party-system. The first issue is more important than the futile attempts, which have been made in the past to encourage the growth of opposition, inside and outside the parliament. It is believed that the opposition prevents the formation of monopolies in politics. It is said that it ensures a neutral and non political

prevails. The politicians have picked up the art of lobbying and jobbery. No doubt that these conditions are no fault of democracy. It is due to the party system, which is unsuitable for India, where a majority of the population is semi illiterate and illiterate. In stead of educating the people the opposition generates forces of disruption, strengthens dissaparon tendencies, and exposes the masses to a few clever parties who have learnt the art of self advertisement. Party politics creates confusion. It is not conducive to the calm thought and quiet deliberation, which the fathers of democracy considered as a pre requisite of democracy. Reason is the first casualty in elections.

✓ The existence of two parties or more than two parties in a country should generally be reflective of the ideological cleavage or programmatic differences which exist in that particular country in regard to managing the affairs of the society. It presumes that, at the bottom, there are two or more than two basically different ways of doing the same thing.

But in India these programmatic differences between parties are getting narrowed down. In fact, there is no such cleavage in India. All the progressive parties, and even others, believe in socialism. All of them stand for far reaching changes in economic life and they accept planning as a technique of economic progress. All the parties advocate these principles and the same programme in different garbs.

Moreover, each party thinks that structural changes can only be brought about with the coercive powers of the state. They think that their programmes cannot be fulfilled without political power. They are groups who are committed to the desire to impose structural changes from above. Parties begin to strive for such power.

Naturally the self interest of each party goads it to emphasize the non essential differences and to exaggerate the acts of omission and commission of the opponent parties. They enter into a nasty campaign of mutual

recrimination in which the real issues remain obscured from the eyes of the masses. Their programmes being almost identical, at the bottom, the electorate cannot decide intelligently between the various shades of the same colour.

Therefore elections become a contest over trifles, and not on basic issues. There is no passion for the ideal. Party politics assumes the form of a crude competition, a will to power, and nothing else. Programmes are relegated to the background. Elections are fought on mass sentiments, emotions and passions centring round non-essential incidental questions. Is this education of masses? Does this kind of party system promote political awakening?

Discussions in the parliament are noisy. The parties are sworn by profession to oppose every move of the party in power, which in turn, is also sworn to refute them. Parliament becomes an arena of professional wrestlers who put up a show of fierce fight (a good example for the people) in the open sessions, but in the select committee they make love to each other and discuss and confer with utmost facility.

A further comparison of what happens in the open sessions of the parliament and what happens inside the select committees is very suggestive of the utter wastefulness and childishness of party system. Every legislative assembly takes the help of a large number of committees in the business of law making. The scrutiny of bills takes place in these committees. The membership of these committees is not the privilege of the majority party. Members of the opposition are duly represented. There they play a very important role. There the barricades of party, which are put up in open debates, fall and each member can go ahead with full steam and even dominate the committee. There the opposition plays a very constructive role, which is less publicized.

Why this two set of procedures. You co-operate in committees and shout at each other in the open. Is it

not a drama? It has been correctly said that parliaments are no more than grand debating societies

The value of conformity or corporate decisions have become a generally accepted practice of parliaments. In case of legislation on the issues of national importance, the party in power strives to seek the general support of the opposition in order to realize the widest measure of agreement. On such occasions, the party approach is abandoned for all intents and purposes. If the parties can come to terms on such vital issues, then is it not a mockery of party politics that they should stage a drama in the parliament on much smaller and minor issues.

Moreover, party politics does not suit the temper of the people of this country. Our culture is synthetic. During the past this principle of synthesis (*samen vaya*) has found expression in India's religious thought, in its philosophy, and even in the village panchayats which operated on this principle. People having these traditions cannot succeed in working out a party pattern of democracy or politics in which the rule of the game is "so soon as ever thou seest him, draw and as thou drawest, swear horrible". Moreover Indian society is divisive in nature. In this country the fissiparous tendencies of caste, religion, provincialism, and linguism are strong. Party politics aggravate these divisions. The experience of the general elections have shown that in many cases the parties including the strongest party, have won elections by working up some of these differences and passions.

India should reconsider the usefulness of the two party pattern of democracy. It must evolve for itself a partyless pattern of politics and democracy. Representative democracy should undergo considerable modifications. One of the methods by which this can be realized is to reorganize democracy in the form of a pyramidal structure with organized committees of people at the base. The committees will control the executive and legislative organs at higher level. There will be a

systematic devolution of functions. The committees will be organs of power and schools of education of the people. It would be worth while considering the possibility of establishing a Panchayatraj of Gandhi Ji's conception. Partyless politics is a goal. It cannot be realized immediately. But India must strive towards it. Perhaps that is her destiny. There is nothing sacerdotal about party system and let it be our job to find a new variant of democracy and by doing so enrich the democratic tradition of the world.

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SOCIAL PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY ACTION

Our destination, Man.

—S K Dey

(1)

decaying communities

"In the world of today, there may be three to five million rural communities—local groups possessing some cohesiveness and some common institutions ranging from nomadic tribes of fifty members upto densely settled agricultural villages of several thousand inhabitants. Such groups comprise about eighty percent of the people of so-called economically less developed countries. The impact of technological, economic, and social changes in the world has, by and large, not brought much benefit to these communities but has served rather to throw out of balance the traditional subsistence economy of the village and to impair its social and cultural integrity. These rural communities are subjected to overwhelming and disruptive pressures and attractions from within and without. Population increases pressing on inadequate and often deteriorating land resources, new demands for consumer goods and social benefits, stimulated by mass communication and the population movements that have accompanied two world wars, wider opportunities, it produces goods for the market rather than for subsistence, or to migrate to towns to work for wages." The tradi

tional family and community relationship tends to break under these pressures. Either these communities are being gradually sucked into the whirlpool of a speed crazy culture of highly acquisitive, competitive, and expansionistic urban societies, or they are undergoing a process of reckless disintegration at a scale unprecedented in human history. The rural areas present a very depressing spectacle of human misery and apathy. They stand deserted, depopulated, and deprived of the best of brains and brawns, which after having been brought up in the hountifulness of the countryside, migrate to cities and towns—mosoleums of squalor, congestion, foul air, and smoke.

This is not a happy development. Civilization can only be maintained when people co-operate in small manageable groups, which offer them the greatest scope for self expression and freedom.

In the highly atomized and deeply alienated mass societies in urban areas, there is little scope of this kind of face to face, intimate, spontaneous social participation. As these small communities are very effective in securing that spontaneous human co-operation on a wide scale, therefore, it is absolutely necessary that these small communities should be saved from ultimate dissolution.

But this raises a second problem. It should be recognised that it is not possible to save these communities from the vitriolic touch of new economic forces. It is also not possible to preserve them in their old form. Their economic, social, and cultural life must go through a process of modernization to parallel the progress in urban communities without losing their indigenous character.

In view of these considerations the ultimate goal, should be to create conditions which will hasten and facilitate the evolution of these rural communities into progressive communities in which the powerful influences of industrialization and urbanization do not dislocate their conditions of work, group solidarity, and family loyalties.

The governments of these less developed areas are faced with a great challenge from these decaying rural communities. What is the solution for this highly complex problem and how to accomplish this great task?

Surely, this task can not be accomplished by economic development and the expansion of government administered social services alone. Twentieth century has offered many an ideological pattern on which people could work to realize these objectives. But it has been found that in almost all instances, the freedom, dignity, and self-reliance of the individual stands seriously restricted and compromised. It remains yet to be found as to how progress—particularly economic progress and social progress—can be consistent with the freedom of spirit and independence of the individual. While it will be a folly to expect a person whose back is bent down with a heavy burden of miseries, and whose children are hungry to value freedom, it is also a negation of all that humanity has stood for, if individuals were to risk the birth right of man for a few crumbs, a piece of cloth, and roof. Should we barter away the needs of soul for the needs of the body? Can we promote social welfare by measures which will be consistent with the dignity of man?

Everywhere free thinking and freedom loving people are exercising their intelligence to find a living answer to this basic question.

(II)

a democratic panacea

Community development is the people's democratic answer to this great problem of social disintegration and reconstruction. Community development is a big deal. "It may become one of the most significant movements of our time—likely to transform in more ways than can now be realized the economy and social structure of

many countries, particularly Asia by providing greater energy and enthusiasm than can be mobilized from any other source for the solution of the economic and social problems of the masses of the people”:

‘Community development can be tentatively defined as a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole of the community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance upon the community’s initiative. It implies the integration of two sets of forces making for human welfare neither of which can do the job alone.

- (1) The opportunity and capacity for co operation, self help, ability to assimilate and adopt new ways of living that are latent in every human group, and,
- (2) the fund of techniques and tools in every social and economic field, drawn from world wide experience and now in use or available to national governments and agencies.’ Community development aims at social progress through local action.

It is a wide movement of people which will carry the community forward to a point where it was maintaining its own momentum of development largely from its own resources of knowledge, fund, leadership, and organization without intensive administrative aid.

All over the world there are big programmes of community development. Iran, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Ghana, Philippines have adopted this programme.

Even in the industrially developed societies this movement, in a modified form, is finding considerable support. The urban mass societies lack organic unity.

‘They consist of atoms, little particles estranged from each other but held together by selfish interests and by the necessity to make use of each other. The private dealings of the individuals are governed by principles of egotism each for himself and God for us all. The

individual is motivated by egotistical interest and not by solidarity with and love for his fellowmen. Society is comprised of separate sectors of life, not the social, universal one which will embrace all '4

For such atomized and alienated mass societies the approach of community action is equally applicable. But there is a difference. In the case of urban societies the need is for re-constructing a socially significant group life. But in case of the rural communities, the need is for preserving their community life with certain modifications.

(III)

India

In India the Community Development—two magic words—catch words of the moment mean different things to different people. To the progressives it epitomizes the latest and the best, and perhaps, the last word ever spoken about social progress; to the conservatives 'it is the shibboleth of give aways', to the internationally conscious politicians they are a special show window to impress the foreign dignitaries visiting India, to the ministers it is an opportunity to get photographed with a shovel and the basket in their hands. A modern Kamdhenu—the wish cow—which gives work to the worker, light and confidence to the teeming millions, publicity to the ministers, and votes to the congress and approbation to the government.

But what is the truth about community development in India. Is it a flash in the pan? Will it stay or will it fold its tent like an Arab and steal away?

It is not a flash in the pan. Nowhere else has this concept found a deeper and wider application. In India, unlike many other countries, who have accepted it as a

method of promoting social progress, it encompasses agriculture, animal-husbandry, irrigation, co operation, public health, social education, communications, village industries panchayats and local self government

The programme has its foundation in the evolution of the Gandhian philosophy and concept of life. A number of voluntary projects of community development have been in existence in India for as long as thirty years. The multipurpose projects at Etawah and Farka Development Scheme in Madras were the forerunners of the nationwide programme launched in 1952.

And since then it has been making rapid progress. Already it covers a population of over 100 million spread out in nearly 200,000 out of 553,000 villages, and it has been designed to cover the country as a whole by 1960. It has been said that this programme has been a great success, because the physical targets have been realized in many respects. But its success does not lie in the stacks of statistics that may be thrown up regarding the miles of road built, number of compost pits dug, the number of school buildings constructed, acres of land reclaimed, and the number of adult education centres opened. These physical targets represent an aggregate of activities undertaken. But activity is no achievement. The success of such programmes should be judged by the change they bring about in the minds and hearts of men, women, children, and young people. Community development is a process and not a 'package' deal. It should have broken the pathetic contentment of the people and should have generated in them a new sense of urgency and dynamism. Has it succeeded in narrowing down social distances? Has it created in the people a hunger for progress and a will to solve their own problem? Answers to these questions, are the real index of the success of the programme. These are intangible factors which cannot admit of a statistical treatment. But "one of the fundamental truths which has emerged out of India's first Five Year Plan is that

the community project programme has proved to be an ingenious method of helping the masses of poverty ridden villages of India gain new assurance in themselves and their government in solving India's most pressing problem of disease, poverty, and ignorance. The response, the participation, the growing awakening of the village people to their problems and opportunities is one of the outstanding and challenging developments of new India, and are of the most substantial reasons for confidence in the community and extension projects programmes as a concept and as an instrument for developing the human resources of India's villages'.² The response of the people has been both gratifying and frightening, 'Frightening because the government today is unable to meet effectively the newly created demands of village people'.³

(iv)

village culture

These facts are significant. They show that the people in the rural areas are moving out of their inertia and apathy. Their hearts are stirred with a new hope. Those human urges and aspirations which have for centuries remained almost frozen have been rendered fluid, the sap of these creative urges has broken through the hard crust at the surface and with the mighty sweep of a river in flood, it is spreading out along the length and breadth of the countryside which has been quickened into new life with the song of the shramdans building new roads or the rhythmic beats of the footsteps of hundreds of youngmen and women going to work, or the hum of the activity of building schools, or panchayat ghars. The Indian humanity has come out into the open. But what is their destination? Will this new enthusiasm and passion be poured into the wells and tanks people dig out or the new fields which are reclaimed or into the mortar for the school buildings or in buying newer goods and services, or in learning newer and newer gadgets. These things are, no doubt desirable,

but they cannot be considered as the final objectives of such a mighty movement. Higher agricultural production, better medical facilities, more canals, electricity, improved village industries, better crops, better breeds of cattle are all better means to better life. They are not in themselves better life. Therefore, the community development movement can not rest contented with these achievements. It must press on. It must also help the people to convert these better means of living into better living, keeping in view their emotional, spiritual and intellectual needs. The community development in India should not be treated as a Santa Claus who will bring us gifts, candies and lollipops. The long range objective of this programme should be the development of total man and the integration of this total man into his social set up, which is the village.

This brings us to a very important conclusion that the community development programme has two-fold objective. The short range objective is to improve the living conditions of the villages, and to create a desire for better life; the long-range objective will be to lay down firmly the foundations of a new significant village culture—a new pattern of life.

In the second phase the community development programme has a mission—a high mission. The immediate success of the programme must be judged in relation to this long range objective. Therefore, the programme should be organized by keeping in mind this long range objective. Those who are responsible for executing these programmes must fully understand the long-term objectives of these programmes.

These programmes should be considered as peoples' programme in which the government helps and not as government programmes in which the peoples participate. Therefore, the administrative set up must be such that there is scope for wide-spread delegation of responsibility, and that the staff meetings of the pro-

ject staff are conducted more democratically. The administrative procedures must be rendered more flexible. The people are on the move and the administrative reforms should keep pace with these rapid changes.

A comprehensive programme for women has yet to begin. Even where women workers have been engaged, they have not been able to make any noticeable impression on their own sex. The fact remains however, that unless the help of women in the village is enlisted there will be little change in village life. Family is the social mechanism of transmission of ideas and values. The long range objective of this programme should succeed in bringing about cultural change, a change in the way of living. This cannot be realized if the women who occupy a central or key position in the Indian homes are not fully convinced about the new values because in the final analysis, it is the women who have to put these ideas into practice. 'The standard of living is the standard of home and therefore those who wish to see the standards raised must gain the confidence of the housewife and train and educate her.'

The programme should place greater reliance on the youth—both men and women. Their participation invigorates the development programme.

Finally, there is the need of associating non governmental organizations with the community development programmes at local, national and international level. The Government must utilize the assets of voluntary efforts. It should assist in the formation of new bodies in this field.

Social progress through community action is a very revolutionary programme. It will change the face of India. No other single endeavour undertaken by the Indian people has aroused such interest not only in our circles but also by the members of the bilateral and

private groups, governmental and non governmental groups, in India and abroad. This is a programme charged with a mission, encompassing one seventh of the world population. It loses its local character. It has grown instead, to be a quest for fundamentals of life.

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CULTURE OF INDIA

Not only the wisdom of the centuries—also their madness breaketh out on us. Dangerous is it to be an heir.

—*Nietzsche*

(i)

the burden of the past

The burden of the past—both good and evil—is overpowering and sometimes suffocating. It impinges upon the present and conditions it. Out of the still depths of oblivion powerful influences emanate and quicken into life many a dormant human aspiration and urge. Numerous voices of silence rise out of the dark stretches of the vast hinterland of time, come and speak to us in familiar accents, and whisper into our ears messages of bygone ages. Old memories get revived and ancient traditions, habits and customs reassert their power. The past tugs at the present. It is difficult to resist its pulls—the claims of a hoary heritage whose firm roots reach out into the dateless past. Dangerous it is to be an heir.

But it is equally hard and risky to be unrelated, to be rootless, traditionless and pastless—to hang in the mid-air belonging to nowhere. The essence of the ancient experience and the support of old traditions are of special value when we are living in an era of mighty transforma-

tion, and when change, which is the distinguishing characteristic of our age, is taking place in all aspects of human life

During the last half a century, India has also been subjected to these forces and it has seen a remarkable revolution in the realm of ideas and in the realm of action. These changes are so fundamental that one wonders whether the present has any relation to the past. Have we burnt all the bridges between the past and present? Have we embarked on an entirely new course? There are explosive ideas abroad. We are witnesses in the great spectacle of many an ancient institution getting reduced to rubble and dust. New forces are working at the foundations of India's inner life. Old bondages and disciplines are threatened by new freedom. The religious values of life are challenged by agnostic secularism. Democratic ideals, new economic forces, the western liberal thought, and the new education have shaken the fabric of India's social life.

The past and the present, the old and the new, the static and the dynamic—they co-exist in India in a strange companionship. India is at the cross roads. It is in a great dilemma. How to build the present in the continuity of the past? How to relate its heritage to the needs of present and that of the future? How to balance progress and stability?

(ii)

But what is India's heritage? What is India? What is the essence of India? These are difficult questions. There are many Indias. India of yesterday, enveloped in the mist of centuries, appears mystifying, hazy, undefined, and an amorphous phenomenon of history. India of today is equally incomprehensible—but with a difference. It is live—though formless and shapeless—seething with unrest and bubbling with energy. India of unborn tomorrow, is a big question mark.

India is an enigma unto her own sons and daughters. It is a great puzzle because innumerable forces and ideas have made India what it is today.

geography

Geography has played a very vital role in the development of Indian culture and in imparting to it its typical characteristics. The mighty mountain ranges in the north east, north and north west have served as a shield against the numerous stresses and strains to which the wind-swept plains of central Asia were subjected by the mass movement of hordes of wandering tribes moving from one end of Asia to the other. India did not stand on that high way along which these caravans of nomadic people moved for centuries. It stood away from these caravan routes and having been formed into a sort of pocket or pouch, it led a sheltered existence. Out of the numerous ethnic stocks of people moving across Asia six distinct races with nine subtypes and with their separate speeches belonging to five distinct speech families happened to drop into this pocket of Indian subcontinent and finding no way out of it got commingled in blood and culture to give rise to the people of India and to its characteristic culture and civilization.

Unlike the early settlers in America, these new races who fell into this pocket of a peninsula did not have to reckon with the rough climate, the wild forests populated with ferocious animals and wild tribes. Consequently they did not develop a defensive civilization like that of the West. Indians never thought that man and nature were in conflict with each other. It never occurred to them that the process of civilization is a process of acquiring more and more power over nature.

Nature in this part of the world was bountiful, rich and kind. The fertile verdurous plains, the blue smiling sky, the luxuriant tropical forests, the rippling streams and the perennial rivers—these formed the Bharat bhoomi—the ever-wilting and ever-blooming mother who

would answer to all the needs of her children. Life to Indian people did not appear as "nasty and brutish". They did not think in terms of antagonisms, conflicts, and clashes. They never thought of life as a struggle for existence or a fight against nature. On the contrary, the Indian people approached nature in a mood of wonder, adoration, and devotion, in order to understand it and to be one with it. They sang to its praises, danced to its symphonies and shared its bounties. This gave to Indian culture its non-aggressive, non-violent, non-competitive and undefensive character. Its technology, its art, its music, its social order, its festivals, its ceremonies, its prayers, its medical system and the mental attitude of its people—all these components of India culture assume the presence of this all-pervasive ultimate oneness that lies at the heart of things.

Naturally, in its sequestered geographical position, in the bountifulness of nature and in the unhurried leisure, which such a state of social existence provides, the Indian people could ponder, reflect and deduce conclusions upon the ultimate problems of life and reality. The pressure and the passion of the moment hardly affected their calculations. Their vision never got stuck on minor or passing programmes of life. It never got itself involved with the splinters or fragments of life and time. It encompassed the whole life. It was all-inclusive, as vast as nature herself, nature as has been manifested in the Indian sub-continent.

(iii)

Indian heritage.

The culture of India is extremely complex, in its roots and its implications, it is perhaps more complex than any other. It may be compared to a tropical forest. Yet it is not so haphazard as a growth, to be free from the operation of any law or inner principle or to have failed to achieve any characteristic or note-worthy expression of itself in ideology and practice.

samanvaya

The key note of Indian culture is 'samanvaya'—synthesis—an attempt to combine the apparently disconnected or discordant fragments of life and experience into an essential unity. It is acceptance of unity in diversity or a harmony of contrasts, which finds expression in India's racial formulation, Indian philosophy, religion, in its world wide view of life and universe, and its reactions to foreign invaders and influences.

"Indian culture in its broadest connotation would include all that has been achieved in the domain of thought and in the pursuit of the good life by the people of India as a whole or in groups, ever since the most important component elements of the Indian people (the Austic, the Dravidian and the Aryan speaking groups) began to form in the upper Gangetic plains, a single people having a single Aryan speech and sharing the same tradition, the same way of thought, the same attitude and same life. The culture that grew up in this way about the beginning of the first millennium B C (C 1000 B C) took another five hundred years to be fully characterized and a further five hundred years to expand from Ganga Valley to the whole of India. At the beginning of the Christian era or a few centuries earlier, we have a pan Indian culture fully established. It was not the creation of a single section of the Indian people. It was not an Aryan culture imposed by a superior civilized white Aryans or Indo European speaking people upon backward or savage dark skinned, non Aryan aborigines. It was in fact, the joint creation of the Aryan and the non Aryan elements contributed by all were combined into one single type, the combination in some cases being close and intimate as it were is chemical combination.¹ For example the Aryans, who were a pastoral people worshipped the forces of nature and believed in elaborate rituals and the fire-sacrifices. They came in contact with the people of Mahanjodaro and Harappa civilization who worshipped images of many gods and goddess. Each influenced the

other and the synthesis of the Aryan and pre Aryan people took place. Neither of them could preserve its own identity. 'The pastoral Aryans who slowly conquered the indigenous population assimilated their civilization and Hinduism as we know it, was the outcome and this assimilation in which while the forms of the conquerors pre dominated the thoughts and traditions of the conquered found new expression.'

Similarly Islam came to India at the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. It enriched the Indian tradition by imparting to it its finer elements of mysticism and some of its organizational aspects. The result of this was Bhakti movement—a common platform of saints bhaktas and sadhus of Hindu India and the pre darvishes and qalandars of Indian Islam.

The next great episode, destined to have far reaching effects on Indian history was the advent of European powers as traders, organizers and empire builders. The process of interaction and synthesis did not begin until about the middle of the eighteenth century when the British sea power was able to defeat its European rivals. India in response through various reform movements took a systematic pattern and by the turn of the twentieth century it was on the offensive.

This process of assimilation and synthesis has also occurred in Indian metaphysical thought. For example, in ancient Indian thought God is being analysed in symbols as well as in terms of his qualities. One school of thought describes God as with attributes and the other without them. The later idea is very profound. It is most difficult to grasp. It is meant for yogis. God is only to be understood. But the concept of God with attributes has an appeal for the ordinary human beings. Neither of these concepts ever competed to acquire supremacy. The monistic concept serves the needs of the more advanced people and the theistic concept serves the purpose of the average man. Various mythological traditions have absorbed these various strands of

thought and made them an inseparable part of Indian tradition

Samanvaya—synthesis—is one of the most important causes of the longevity of Indian culture. Some of the peoples who created parallel civilizations, like those of ancient Egypt and of the Middle East, made way for different races who developed another culture. But this civilization was neither destroyed nor seriously changed by invasions or external influences. It merely gave ground here there to make room for them, as a mollusc makes room for foreign bodies. Wherever it survived, it remained faithful to its own tradition.³

catholicity

The Indian mind is all-embracing. Indian culture has room for all. It admits that every point of view contains a grain of truth. It is ever-ready to respect other man's point of view. It is based on the recognition that truth is a gem of many facets. We are like blind people trying to make out the form of an elephant. By feeling each a different limb they will be convinced that the elephant is like a pillar, or a snake or a hard substance, or a wall or a brush with a flexible handle, according to as they respectively touch its leg, or trunk or tusk, or body, or tail. The Indian thought is tolerant of differences of opinion and creed within its own fold and even outside itself. The method by which a man makes spiritual progress is the best for him. He should not change it for another which may not look right to him nor please him nor be useful to him.⁴

On account of this catholicity which is very attractive aspect of Indian culture, the religious, the doctrinal and the philosophical differences have not been able to mar the cultural life of the people, whatever their religion, caste or race or linguistic divergences. On the contrary it gave a sort of cultural unity to India.

In ancient times there was considerable give and take between the Greeks and the Indians. India absorbed

the best cultural elements of Christianity and Islam. It is also in the process of absorbing the Western influences. In the past, India did not adopt an aggressive or a defensive attitude to external influences. India's response to cultural aggression of any kind has not been one of passionate indignation or a desire to fight back. It allowed the aggression to exhaust itself. It beat it by its own momentum. It has always shown tolerance, willingness to examine new ideas. It has viewed all fanatical and intolerant creeds with a calm confidence and non resistance. Consequently, the aggressors ended by getting absorbed in the vastness of Indian humanity. Many a turbulent stream and mighty river come tumbling over the hills and plains and get lost in the calm depths of the ocean.

unity of life

Indian thought is saturated with a sense of unity of all life, which it considers as an expression of an unseen reality immanent and transcendental. Therefore life is inter connected, it is a fine web of inter related elements—both the animate and the inanimate.

This realization of spiritual identity and inter-connectedness dissolves all antagonisms and conflicts, and engenders a feeling of fellowship, co-operation, sympathy and goodwill, which form the basis of India's social life. Unlike that of the West, the society was never conceived of as an aggregate of antagonistic interests competing with each other for advantage and supremacy. On the contrary, it was considered to be a grand collective effort—a co-operative movement—to help each individual realize his or her own self and his or her relation to the cosmos. Therefore, India's social structure was not acquisitive. It was based on co-operation and group solidarity. Life, in society, was not conceived as a struggle for success or struggle for existence. Its purpose was not power or wealth. It was not a mad pursuit of blind self interest and self aggrandizement—the will to power.

life an offering

On the contrary, life has been called a 'yajna'—an act of sacrifice—an offering—'yajna' does not mean only performance of certain rites. But it is a symbol of dedication of what belongs to one to the whole for the benefit of all beings—all creatures in the world, visible and invisible. It implies that the society to which we belong and for the good of which we should make offerings includes everything. Every man is expected to be on friendly terms with all beings around him. Therefore, a scheme of five kinds of 'yajnas' was worked out: Deva Yajna, Rishi Yajna, Pitri Yajna, Bhuta Yajna and Nri Yajna. This conception of life as an offering and the awareness of the fact that the individual belongs to a wider fellowship provided to Indian social life a strong spiritual and moral purpose. The society does not require external controls to keep it in harmony and balance if the individuals are motivated by these higher values. It becomes self-operating and self-correcting mechanism in which we can dispense with the umpire ship of the state. The conflict between the individual interest and the social purpose can only be reconciled at a moral plane by realizing that life is an act of dedication—an offering—a continuous process of giving away, and therefore, a series of duties.

The concept of rights of man is out of place in such a scheme of things. It is irrelevant. Moreover the emphasis on the concept of right of individuals deepens the cleavage, which such a notion presumes to be existing between the individual and society. 'What are rights?' 'Rights' is simply a glorified word for our individual and selfish interests sublimated forms of our animals wants. Why should we emphasize them, glorify them and plead for them? We are naturally prone to assert them? Why should we add to their force by enlisting the power of will on their side? If every one were to be careful to perform his or her duties and were to be willing to give others what he expects from them there would be no need of asserting rights. Assertion of rights leads

to strife and tension."⁵ Therefore, the best way to remove this tension is to emphasize duties. As the state is an agency of reconciling individual interest and social interest, it is bound to become more and more effective when greater and greater emphasis is laid on the rights of individual. But if the emphasis is shifted from the concept of rights to that of duties, we shall not require the controlling authority of the state to reconcile these conflicting claims. A social system based on the concept of duties is free from excessive statism.

Therefore good and great men in society did not talk of rights, but always of duties. In Indian culture an attempt was made to discourage the notion of rights and to encourage a pattern of a free society based on duties.

dharma

This brings us to a very significant feature of Indian culture. Dharma *i.e.*, duty was the basis of organization of ancient Indian society. India had no charter of the rights of man. It had a charter of duties ten commandments, namely, patience and perseverance, forgiveness, control, abstinence from misappropriation of other's property, cleanliness of mind, body, and spirit, control of ideas and passion, reasonableness, mastery over anger, knowledge, and truthfulness. Their practice by the members of the society helped to create a healthy social atmosphere.

Social harmony depended upon the capacity of the members of the society to live upto these commandments, *i.e.* their adherence to dharma, to which all owed allegiance and which was accepted by all as the directive principle of social action and social policy. Dharma was a unifying link. Manu defined it as *dhriti*, that which holds, supports, maintains, protects or keeps in balance and unity all the creatures of the world. Dharma is a binding force.

Indian social organization was based on dharma. Social relationship was formulated in terms of duties and

obligations. A pervasive sense of duty informs every important aspects of India's social, individual, and cultural life. Every act of an individual is an expression of his dharma—his inherent nature illumines all his activities and imparts to them a uniqueness of its own.

Varna vyavastha, the four fold division of society in the pattern of four vocations, which the ancient Indian thought propagated, in the final analysis, implies the division of society on the basis of duties a person performed as a brahmin, kshatriya, vaishya and shudra. Its original purpose was not to divide society into classes, but to promote automatic social harmony by allocating to each individual, appropriate duties and functions which he can discharge according to his capabilities. The Rig Veda compared brahmin to the head, kshatriya to the hands, vaishya to abdomen and legs of the human body to shudra. Just as the limbs of the body performed specific functions, similarly each of these groups served society by performing their respective duties. Society was stable and happy, so long as each individual followed his dharma which held the society in cohesion. It was unfortunate that the chaturvarnya degenerated into a rigid, inflexible order at a later stage, when the hold of dharma on the minds of people got relaxed.

Similarly, the ancient Indian sees determined the functions, the disciplines, the duties, and the places in society of the individual at each stage of life. The ashram dharma was a phased programme of the life of an individual, with a view to equipping him and training him to realize the highest purpose of life, which was conceived as a process of gradual soul evolution.

"By instituting this four fold division of life, the Indian thought recognized that the normal life of man has to be passed through with conscientious endeavour to fulfill his purpose, its powers must be developed with knowledge, its forms must be perceived, interpreted and fathomed, its values must be worked out, possessed and lived, its enjoyments must be fully taken on their own

level.....This belief in a gradual soul evolution..... is the pivot of the Indian conception of existence. It gives to our life the figure of an ascent in spirals..... The growth of life has stages through which it must pass."

Thus the process of living was considered as a purposive, upward movement of spirit. Individuals passed through a number of phases of life which flowed out like a river, uninterrupted. But at every stage there were certain debts to pay, certain sacrifices to make and certain disciplines of mind to be developed. "There was the period of studentship. The student life was framed to lay the ground work of what the man had to know, do and be. It gave a thorough training in the necessary arts, sciences, branches of knowledge, but it was still insistent on the discipline of the ethical nature and the man was prepared for the great object of life—*arth, kam, dharma, moksha*. Entering into the householder stage to live out his knowledge, he was able to serve there the three first human objects, he satisfied his natural being and its interests and desire to take the joy of life, he paid his debt to the society and its demands, and by the way he discharged his life functions he prepared himself for the last greatest purpose of his existence. In the third stage he retired to the forest and worked out in a certain seclusion the truth of his spirit. He lived in a broad freedom from the stricter social bonds; but if he so willed, gathering the young around him or receiving the inquirer and seeker, he could leave his knowledge to the new rising generation as an educator or a spiritual teacher. In the last stage of life, he was free to throw off every remaining tie and to wander over the world in an extreme spiritual detachment from all the forms of social life, satisfying only the barest necessities, communing with the universal spirit, making his soul ready for eternity. This profoundly conceived cycle gave a scheme which kept the full course of the human spirit in its view; it could be taken advantage of by all according to their actual growth and in its fullness by those who were sufficiently developed in their present birth to complete the circle."

The motive behind this four fold division of society and four fold division of life is clear. The well being of the individual, to enable the individual to achieve self realization and his highest good. Society worked sincerely towards this end.

concept of man

Indian culture accorded highest dignity to man. 'Man is the Indian idea is a spirit veiled in the works of energy, moving towards self discovery, capable of God head—he is a divinity and an eternal existence. He has the spiritual capacity to pass to a supreme and extraordinary pitch of manhood—he can become free perfected, semi divine man, *mukta siddha*—but he can do more—his spirit can become one with God'. Man has the capacity to exceed himself. He is macrocosm as well as microcosm. He is more than a "reaction mass". He is the centre of a circle whose circumference is no where. His dimensions are infinite. Therefore to know nature is to know man. Man cannot be known thoroughly if we do not consider his state of consciousness under all types of experience—waking, dream, deep sleep, and *samadhi*—which must be synthesized in order to have a complete understanding of man.

While Indian thought places such great trust in the divine possibilities of man, it is also aware of his on-ideal tendencies. It knew the downward moving tendencies of man. Therefore, the Indian culture evolved a firm pattern which will take cognisance of both these tendencies. It was realized that as society is a necessary framework for man's growth, it was essential to evolve a social order, which will serve man's need for self development and in making him realize his highest ideals. "Indian culture seized upon a double ideal, for its own guidance which it threw into a basic system of the individual life in the social frame—this was four *varnas* and four *ashramas*. At every stage of existence the individual growth was brought in relation to social needs. The individual interest was not at cross purposes

with his social environment. The process of individual growth enriched social life, and the social pattern in turn, helped individual advancement. In fact, the entire society was so organized that it helped the individual in attaining the highest objectives. It was only in such a harmonious set up, based on dharma, an individual could realize his noblest spiritual aspiration.

"Dharma at once religious law of action and deepest law of our nature, is not, a creed, a cult,it is the right law of functioning our life, in all its parts..... Everything, indeed, has his drama.....The role which this concept of dharma played in shaping Indian life is very significant. The system of Indian culture at once indulged and controlled man's nature ; it fitted him for his social role.....it stamped on his mind the generous ideal of an accomplished humanity, refined, harmonized in all his capacities, enrolled in all its membersfamiliarized him with the conception of spiritual existence and sowed in him a hunger for the divine and infinite." It inspired man with a great idea—an upward-looking tendency—and made him realize his inherent greatness. Dharma was a supreme binding force of Indian society—it was an inspiration also.

In this way Indian civilization became rich and mature. It was all inclusive, integrated and broad based. It lived in ample freedom and vigour. It discovered the secrets of external nature and discovered the boundless truths of inner being. It realized the self and conquered the world.

But gradually, its pristine plasticity began to get hardened, intuition waned and intellect became dominant, greater stress came to be laid on scientific system, exactness, and order. Society became more artificial and complex, less free and noble. It became more hinderance than a field for the growth of man's spiritual faculty. Artha and kama were developed at the cost of dharma.

(iv)

the present

We stand on the verge of tremendous possibilities. The night mareish experiences of slavery, subjugation, ignorance, confusion and inertia have ended. We are unburdening the load of ugly accretions, the rust and rot of centuries. India is once again regaining her lost confidence and faith. Millions and millions of her children are waking up with a powerful urge to lead a life of dignity and significance. Indian civilization is re-aring to make good the loss she has suffered during the past ten centuries.

But how will India build the future? The ravages of time have greatly affected her soul. Can India live in the continuity of her past? Can it disengage and preserve the spirit of its culture to give the present new and powerful thought significance, culture values new instrumentation and greater figures? India will have to find its true lines. It will have to find in itself the aspiration and inspiration, the fire and the force to conceive them and execute them.

It is going to be a hard, long process of re-discovery. It is a very complex problem of re-integration of the past and the present. Many of India's cultural ideas and social forms have lost their ancient spirit or significance. Many of our ancient ideas are mere fictions. But some, even if good in themselves in their own times are no longer sufficient for our growth. India will have to discover new dynamic truths and park them within the limited truth of the past ideal. "On our past and present ideals we have to turn the searchlight of the spirit and see whether they have not to be surpassed or enlarged or brought into consonance with new wider ideals. All we do or create must be consistent with the abiding spirit of India, but framed to fit into a greater harmonised rhythm and plastic to the call of a more luminous future. If faith in ourselves and fidelity to

the spirit of our culture are the first requisites of a continued and vigorous life, a recognition of greater possibilities is a condition not less indispensable. There cannot be a healthy and victorious survival if we make of the past a fetish instead of an inspiring impulse' ¹⁰

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OUR DIVIDED ONE WORLD

If we have not the imagination and courage to work for world peace and unity, it will be effected violently through the demoniac agents of divine justice
—Radhakrishnan

(1) the crisis

We live in times of crisis. The crisis has assumed such a deep grey aspect that some of us have begun to feel that the great darkness will descend upon this planet any time and this civilization also will slip into oblivion like many others that have gone before it. Are we really living in the winter phase of civilization? Will it come down like a house of cards with a crash?

No, when a civilization is in crisis it does not necessarily mean that the howling barbarians from without have threatened to sweep it out of existence, but because the forces of unreason, violence and barbarism have sprung from within the dark depths of its own being. Crisis is not a point of crash at which buildings begin to topple over and human beings begin to drop like leaves falling from the trees in autumn.

Civilization grows in the minds of people and it falls there, whenever it does. It is a movement of spirit. Its fall is as undramatic as its rise. The crisis in the civilization is an experience which every one who belongs to it undergoes in the form of spiritual insecurity, disharmony, and instability which exists in the collective mind.

of the civilization. A civilization is in crisis when it fails to live up to its own standards and in fact, commits violent breeches in following them, when its own children start questioning its validity and basis, when it develops certain inner contradictions, when its constituent elements are not in harmony and in step with each other and when, on account of the loss of sensitivity and inventiveness it cannot find correct answers to its problems which arise again and again as a result of inadequate response.

For instance, in our times, man who had won his freedom from religious and secular tyranny of ancient times is now afraid of his new freedom. Man who started building machines to serve his purpose now seems to have become *subservient to machine*. When man seems to have reached the beginning of a rich and happy human era, he is feeling terribly insecure, and is highly fear-stricken. Modern man by sparing himself the drudgery of the past is enjoying more leisure. But he does not know how to use it. Our mechanical facilities have swollen the output, which we burn in secret in order to keep the prices stable, although there is starvation and poverty in many countries—a paradox of 'poverty of over production' or "starvation in the midst of plenty". We talk of peace but continue to spend a major part of our budget on preparation for war. In this age of human rights and justice totalitarianism in manifest or unmanifest form exists everywhere. In this age of reason the forces of insanity are on the ascendency and schizoid tendencies have got the better part of the mind of this mighty civilization. Its parts are at war with each other and against its whole mind and soul. Fierce internecine conflict is raging within it. Supported by their respective allies the forces of violence, enslavement, tribalism, annihilation and insanity are pitched against the forces of peace, freedom, universalism, creativeness and sanity in active hostility. It is a divided world split between different loyalties, rent with divisions and dissensions, conflicts and contradictions.

(ii)

insanity vs. sanity

In this age of progress, liberal traditions, and reason, and high civilization the voices of insanity are becoming louder and louder. Civilization appears to be suffering from "collective neuroses", finding violent expression in periodic outbursts of destructiveness and paranoid suspicion. During the last century this civilization has found out unique methods of political and economic organization with a view to promoting human welfare. Never in the history of the world has there been such a passion to improve, preserve, and respect life and the individual at such a wide scale and to such a great extent as we have seen in this civilization. But the same civilization has killed off millions of our population in an arrangement which is called "war". We have seen three major wars—1870, 1914, 1939 in eighty years, not to speak of many smaller ones. And today we are ready for a bigger war which would, if it comes, surpass all previous records. And the beauty of this situation is that all these wars were fought to end war; all these wars were fought for freedom and similar high ideals; and all those who participated in these wars were fighting for honour and on behalf of God. Is it not insanity that mass-murder should be committed with such noble intentions and that war be made the vehicle of spreading and serving great human ideals?

Apart from these occasional outbursts, and the murderous instincts having the better part of the mind of statesmen and people of the world, the incidence of individual insanity in Western culture, which is the most dominant culture of our times, is alarming. The improved methods of public health have helped man to control smallpox, cholera, plague, malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis etc., which took a heavy toll of human life. But the incidence of mental illness in USA, UK, and other European countries show a considerable increase. Insanity is lodged in healthy bodies.

It is a fact that more than half of all hospital beds in the United States are used for mental patients.....17.7 per cent of all rejection of draftees in the last war were for reasons of mental illness and this fact certainly bespeaks a high degree of mental disturbance.²

Similarly, the rate of homicide, suicide and alcoholism is also an indication of the state of mental health of this civilization. They are indicative of emotional and mental instability. The poorest countries have lowest incidence of suicide. But the increasing material prosperity in Europe was accompanied by increasing number of suicides. Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, and the U.S.A. have the highest rates of suicide, while Ireland, Italy, Spain have the lowest. The same is also true of the figures for alcoholism. It, therefore, appears that the most prosperous, the most peaceful, and the most democratic of countries show the most severe symptoms of mental disturbance.³ In the light of this data, it is not un-reasonable or improbable if some of us start losing faith in the basis of modern civilization which is so proud of her material prosperity and scientific achievements, and a civilization in which there is no dearth of knowledge and which is heir to the entire wisdom of ages gone by. The civilized society is sick. It has become neurotic under the pressure of civilizing trends. The world's mind is divided.

(iii)

communism vs. capitalism

Two great social colossi have grown up, each afraid of the other, but both have succeeded in capturing the minds of people in different parts of the world. This has created a deep rift in the modern world and has been instrumental in retarding man's march towards unification. There is tension. There is suspicion. There is fear. Men's minds are haunted with the fear of war for which nations are preparing themselves secretly. Defensive alliances are made in the conferences and newer weapons of war are made in the factories. The camp

followers of each of these ideologies indulge in shameless vituperations and calumny against their opponents. The civilized world stands divided and seems to be bent upon widening these differences.

'There is today a decisive difference between the two systems. In the Western world there is freedom to express ideas critical of the existing system. In the Soviet world criticism and expression of different ideas is suppressed by brutal force. Hence, the Western world carries within itself the possibility for peaceful progressive transformation, while in the Soviet world such possibilities are almost non-existent, in the Western world the life of the individual is free from the terror of imprisonment, torture or death, which confront any member of the Soviet society who has not become a well-functioning automaton. Indeed, life in the Western world has been, and is even now sometimes as rich and joyous as it has ever been anywhere in human history, life in the Soviet system can never be joyous as indeed it can never be where the executioner watches behind the door.'

It has not yet been realized that this division of the world, on the basis of these political and social ideals is unreal. If at all, it exists, it exists in the minds of the fanatical adherents. These two modes of social organizations have identical consequences. In reality, they have more points of similarity than divergences. Capitalism and Communism are cousins, progenies of the common materialistic Christian civilization of the West. Therefore, without ignoring the tremendous differences between free Capitalism and authoritarian Communism today, it is short-sighted not to see the similarities especially as they will develop in the future. Both systems are based on industrialization, their goal is ever-increasing economic efficiency and wealth. They are societies run by a managerial class and by professional politicians. They both are thoroughly materialistic in their outlook, regardless of Christian ideology in the West and secular messianism in the East. They

organize man in a centralized system, in large factories, political mass parties. Everybody is a cog in the machine, and has to function smoothly. In the West, this is achieved by a method of psychological conditioning, mass suggestion, monetary rewards. In the East by all this, plus the use of terror. It is to be assumed that the more the Soviet system develops economically, the less severely will it have to exploit the majority of the population, hence the mass terror can be replaced by methods of psychological manipulation. The West develops rapidly in the direction of Huxley's "Brave New World" the East is today Orwell's "1984". But both systems tend to converge." The world can be spared of many complications, if these similarities are fully grasped by the people of the world. They will turn away from this futile controversy and the mad race for supremacy and take to more constructive and creative tasks of co-operation and humanism.

(iv)

nationalism vs. universalism

Quicker and more effective means of communication have converted the world into a small continent, in fact, a small village. The radio, the super-sonic planes, the wireless, etc. have broken the barriers and barricades that existed in ancient times between people living in various parts of the world. Techniques have, as it were, abridged the seas and melted the mountains. The idea of one world—the oneness of the human family which once was a philosophical conception and a deeply felt religious truth, has become a reality—a physical reality. And just at a time when it needed the universalism of Confucius, St. Paul, and Buddha, civilization is turning to the worship of tribal gods of nationalism and jingoism. The quicker means of communication make no sense if man has not realized the brotherhood of man by rising above his sense of racial superiority and national egoism. The logic of technique in modern times is towards creating larger and longer units of

human society, they have become global. But the religious and cultural outlook tends to be parochial. As there is a constant culture lag between man and the machine, the mind of civilization is torn by a serious conflict—the conflict between nationalism and universalism.

The world is interdependent economically. National self-sufficiency in this sphere is unimaginable, at least for the next few decades. The less developed countries need the continued assistance of industrially advanced countries in respect of technical know-how, industrial capital and even financial assistance. On the other hand, the industrially advanced countries need the continued collaboration of the less developed countries, for the raw material particularly, mineral resources. But political conflicts are interfering with the economic collaboration. The forces that tend to promote economic interdependence are in conflict with forces that promote political dissensions.

In order to facilitate mutually beneficial economic co-operation at a global level it is necessary to evolve a suitable global arrangement for promoting equally harmonious political relations between the nations.

And the thoughtful people of the world are busy finding a proper mechanism which will eliminate this conflict between the economic needs of the one world and the political tensions of the divided world. To some extent their efforts have borne fruits. There is no denying the fact that the forces of unification are trying to assert themselves in order to counteract the forces of disruption. Heroic efforts are being made to strengthen the trend towards consolidation. The United Nations and its specialized agencies, the process of unification of Europe, the unprecedented co-operation between nations to promote mutual welfare and understanding, the freer flow of ideas and people from one country to the other—all these are very hopeful signs which should fill our hearts with hope and it should be our endeavour to strengthen them with all our resources.

The United Nations is an idea—a powerful idea. As an instrument for maintaining peace, and particularly its role in checking war, the United Nations has proved to be a great success in many cases. If the unbecoming aggression of Suez ended quickly, it was because of the public opinion which the UN had built against war during the last ten years. The peace-loving people of the world reacted with horror and anger at this aggression. France and Britain were hooted back out of Egypt by world opinion.

Sometimes we criticize the United Nations for having become an arena of power politics. It may be true to some extent. But whether it is good, bad or indifferent, the United Nations is humanity's last hope. We must work to preserve this light, otherwise darkness and chaos are bound to descend and envelope our world.

Similarly, the unification of Europe is a great event of our times. Economic necessity, political chaos and fear of war are responsible for this trend and if this process finds its consummation in European unity, the forces of sanity and unity would have won a very strategic point against the forces of disruption and destruction now prevailing in the world.

Civilization is subjected to two opposing impulses, namely, the impulse of division, dissension and disunity, and the human impulse of unity and cooperation.

A world order is a necessity. Provincial national affiliations must yield place to global loyalties. National liberty is a threat to the emerging world order, which, if it is to succeed, must be founded on the principles of equality and democracy. This order, in the long run, would take the form of the world government—a federation of sovereign independent nations in which the social aspect of nationalism which pertains to the sense of unity created either by common traditions of history or by common religious, linguistic, geographical and economic bonds may remain intact. It is difficult to abandon

this aspect of nationalism—how can we jump out of our skin? The moral validity of social aspect of nationalism is justified. It is natural and a necessary form constituting an intermediate stage between the individual and mankind. But it would be essential for the nations to agree to part with the political aspect of nationalism—the national sovereignty of the nation will be merged in the world state.

Progress means enlargement—enlargement of our vision, enlargement of our sympathies, and enlargement of our relationships. The progress of our civilization depends upon this capacity for expanding our vision and relationships. It is a lesson of history that myopia and narrow mindedness lead a nation to its doom. History is replete with numerous instances of civilizations which have gone to seed because they had lost the capacity for enlargement. We of this age must take note of this fact and work towards the establishment of world order. Let us not fight for our country. Let us fight for civilization.

"Mankind is meant to be a unit. Men are not separate like so many grains of sand. We are organically bound into a living unity. Nations are forms of collective life which shape the flow of human history: but there is nothing ultimate in them. We are now in a period of the unity of civilization. Our crimes are domestic tragedies and our wars civil wars."

The problem of living sanely, peacefully and unitedly requires the will for peace, and renunciation of our old patterns of thought and action. A new generation requires to be trained in these realities of universalism, and the brotherhood of mankind. Humanity will have to make a special effort to rid itself of its existing divisions and dissensions and they should understand that the world which was basically indivisible is now pressing to become indivisible in fact. If we do not develop the spiritual acumen to face this challenge a terrible disaster

ON AUTOMATION AND AUTOMATONS

Work is worship

(i)

automation

The age of miracles has not ended. The miracles and mysteries of magic and religion have yielded place to new ones. Here is a recently known mechanical wonder—automation—a machine which works machine, a machine which works like men.

Automation is, in a sense, an extension of the principle of mechanization which took birth two centuries ago at the time of Industrial Revolution. Mechanization means the development of machine to replace human labour. But automation means the development of machines to control other machines. Automation involves the remote control methods to measure changes in processes and to provide correctives.

"Automation must be taken to mean, in relation to manufacturing industry, the organization of productive processes, including the transfer of work in progress from one process to another, by methods which eliminate both physical handling of the goods and physical operation of the machines used—except when something goes wrong."¹

Automation is the third phase in the progress of the process of industrialization in modern times; the first

which will smash our rigidities and paralyse our generous impulses is bound to occur.

Man is helpless before the social and economic forces he has created for himself. He must create a society "which conformed with the needs of man, needs which are rooted in the very conditions of his existence. A society in which man relates to man lovingly, in which he is rooted in bonds of brotherliness and solidarity rather than in the ties of blood and soil; a society which gives him the possibilities of transcending nature by creating rather than by destroying....."

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have been broken. The worker will sit on his job like a superior automaton watching helplessly the gigantic machines work inexorably.

Automation has a few other advantages. It might solve the problem of the employment of elderly and aged people. This is very important problem of the advanced countries in which improved health facilities have increased the expectancy of life. And even if, it releases working force in industry, the displaced labour force can be more gainfully employed in medical and educational services and other specialist activities which are bound to increase in future due to the rising standards of living and advancement of civilization.

(iii)

other implications

Every revolutionary technological advance requires corresponding social re-adjustment. It needs certain social correctives. Automation being a revolution in production techniques will also create social problems and even problems of political re-adjustment. For example, we know that automation need a very high level of capital investment. This is difficult for all those countries who spend large sums on defence. Governments in trying 'to meet the deficit in the balance of payments, are attempting to cut down investment and are thus making it difficult for automation to spread as far and as fast'.² They are faced with a dilemma. If they do not automate, their competitive power in the world market stands endangered. But if they do, they will have either to cut down defence expenditure or cut down consumption of the working classes. Government in modern times cannot afford to do this without incurring the serious displeasure of the workers. The only alternative left is to reduce expenditure on defence, which in turn is very closely connected with the foreign policy of a country and general political climate of the world. Automation demands a different kind of foreign policy—a policy which does not believe in armament. It needs an

circumstances, it will not involve unemployment in the long run, because the surplus or the redundant labour displaced in automated industries will be absorbed in power producing industries and in industries which produce automatic machines. But it might create an employment in the short-run due to the fact that automation will lead to redundancy, except where the firm applying it is able to market a greatly increased output.

This is a very significant point Automation needs an ever extending economy in which people continue to demand more and more goods and services. For example, in 1976, the demand of the population of U.S.A. will be twice its present level. But during this period America's work force will increase by only about thirty percent. In order to cope up with this mounting standard of living of the American people, it is essential to adopt automation. The work force in America should be equipped with new tools to increase productivity. The problem in America and Europe is not too many workers but too few, in relation to the steadily rising demand and population.

It is believed that automation transfers to the machine the monotonous and the repetitive type of job—operations which dull the mind and exhaust the body. It may impart a new dignity to the worker. It will reduce human drudgery and arduous physical toil. It will shift the emphasis from the manual labour to more skilled and safe jobs, which require new type of workers. The operator becomes an observer, who is supposed to observe dials by remaining alert, vigilant all the time. The workers will not do manual work but do eternal vigilance throughout the work hours. The scope of real mechanical work will exist only in those industries which produce automatic machines. The automatic machines would require more intelligent young people from schools and colleges. These young men and women will have no skills or crafts—except those which will enable them to keep well their watch on the machines under their charge. The last link between man and his job

But there is a limit—a human limit beyond which physical exertion should not be reduced. It is disastrous to make leisure the pivot of life because it assumes that work is an evil and, therefore, it should be reduced as near as possible to zero. This is a fallacy and a delusion because work itself is a form of culture. It is not merely a money earning process. It is a means of physical and mental and spiritual growth and health. It is a fundamental condition of the satisfactions. It is essential for the development of character. It is an expression of the creative transformation of nature by man's reason and skill.

In modern automated industries the role of the worker will become more and more passive. He will have less and less responsibility. The work will tend to become more and more alienated from the worker. It will offer him no opportunity to pour out his creative instincts into his work.

This will lead to the automatization of life and physical and mental atrophy. Automation will create skull-bunger and create a pattern of life in which labour is soulless. What we consider as a boon will become a bane.

culture of robots

There is one more argument which is often handled in favour of this idealized conception of leisure. It is said that leisure will give birth to art and culture, and "we can anticipate a nation of poets, painters and musicians in the midst of the appalling urbanized squalor of a century of wealth and power worship which cries aloud for our understanding and compassion." Who will be the artists and painters?—the automatons, whose work life is shorn of all creative purposive endeavour? The robots, who do not possess any sensibility? The lazy day dreamer who works his machines? How can these dehumanized shapeless beings give birth to art,

economy of peace. It needs a world free from the scourge of war, because only in conditions of the absence of the threat of war, that mankind can devote itself to nobler tasks of peace. One cannot eat the cake and have it. A nation cannot aspire to automate and still believe in war and armament except by subjecting its people to a burden of taxation and lower consumption. The enigma of the modern world is that while all want peace, nobody has the guts to reduce its expenditure on defence, which is a great drain on the economic resources. Is it not a great folly that nations should be spending nearly 50% of their budget on armament when people are living under conditions of great economic hardships. How happier would the world become if nations could divert their resources from manufacturing 'junk' and for maintaining large idle armies and utilize them for more human purposes, namely, for extending the medical facilities, building more houses, more schools, and more factories. Automation together with atomic energy for peaceful uses has brought out very clearly this grave inner contradiction of our civilization.

leisure

It has been asserted with pride that once automation hits its full stride increased leisure will open new vistas. In fact, since the end of last century, it has been the constant endeavour of the industrial research to devise such kind of machines which will reduce physical exertion in work, eliminate the element of personal touch and responsibility, and bring down the hours of work. Shaw and Webb emphasized that mass production system will reduce the hours of labour and will provide ample leisure to the workers.

It cannot be denied that long hours of work are not conducive to the growth of man. It is almost incontestable that man must have enough leisure to enrich his life. The modern idealization of leisure is based upon this idea and it commenced in the eighties of last century with the rapid extension of repetitive industrialism.

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which cannot live in spiritual vacuum. How can civilization produce poets and painters if it has destroyed its builders, carpenters, potters and plumbers? Can robots sing with the full throated vigour of Shelley? Can automations paint with the passion of Van Gogh? Once the people sang about their work. What will the worker to day sing—about his dark, mysterious automatic machine?—Is it? A man who works like a machine through out the week, can he write a poem on Saturday? Automatization will augment the existing trends to wards mechanization and automatization of life. Life has already been rendered a sum total of detached activities which have no relation to the basic urges and inspirations of man. Automation will complete the process. The danger of the future is that men may become robots, who will become Golems and will destroy this world and themselves because they will not be able to stand the boredom of a meaningless existence.

multiplication of wants

Automation we have already stated, is best suited for an expanding economy. It assumes that the demand will increase steadily and its lower and lower margins will be tapped by producing more and more goods and services at lower and lower costs. In other words, in order to make the automated industry run profitably it is absolutely essential that demand should be stimulated and that it should not be allowed to remain static or to recede, if a social disaster is to be avoided. Multiplication of wants will keep the automated industry running at full speed indefinitely. It will involve stimulating appetites, cultivating new tastes and to reduce life itself to two pursuits acquiring and spending money. There is no doubt that a reasonable amount of comfort and luxury are justifiable. But this kind of over indulgence—a sort of mania—is personally and socially harmful. For how long can a speed fed economic structure last. It is bound to be destroyed by its own mounting speed.

Automation and automaton--these are the danger to civilization. Man is more important than gadgets. Let us eschew things which will degrade and degenerate man and which will foster mass mind. Man's life should be filled with creative work and creative labour which is the essence of good and sane life.

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ART, BEAUTY AND TRUTH

"Art is so much more significant than either economics or philosophy. It is the direct measure of man's spiritual vision."

—Merbert Read

(i)

What is art?

"To evoke in one self a feeling one has experienced, and having evoked it in one-self, then by means of a movement, lines, colours, sounds or forms expressed in word so to transmit that feeling that others experience the same feeling—this is the activity of art."

"Art is a human activity consisting this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that others are infected by these feelings and also experience them." According to Tolstoy, as the above statement implies, art expresses the feelings of the artist and transmits those feelings to others. In other words, expression and transmission are two functions of art which must be intelligible and communicable if it should be true to itself. That means the artist must express himself through a media which is as close as possible to the social idiom so that people may be able to know his feelings.

Undoubtedly, art should be communicable. But it is difficult to accept that it should be as intelligible and, therefore, as artless, though simple, as the grandma stories or legends or folk songs or the panchtantra. Goethe and

Kalidas, Beethoven and Tansen and Cezanne and Rembrandt and Amritas Shergill and Dhan Raj Bhat—masters in their respective domains—will fall out of the category of artists because their creations lack that dear matter of factness and prosaicness and simpleness of newspaper and the information pamphlets, or the cinema posters or advertisement bills and other forms of commercialized travesties of art. A reader's digest can only be easily intelligible but not Sartre and Parshad or Picasso, or the frescoes at Janta and Ellora. But that does not mean that art is abstract or an obscure and a mystifying activity intended for the 'elite'—the chosen of the gods and society. It does not mean that the function of an artist is only to create a world of fantastic forms. Art is not a forest of lines running riotously, or a mess of fanciful colours or a flood of exotic sound-patterns or a strange conglomeration of words.

"The real function of art is not to transmit feeling so that others may experience the same feeling. This is only the function of the crudest forms of art—programme music, melodrama sentimental fiction and the like. The real function of art is to express and transmit understanding."

Moreover, "We came to the work of art already charged with emotional complexes, we find in the genuine work of art, not an excitation of these emotions, but peace, repose, equanimity. It is true that the work of art arouses in us certain physical reactions. We are conscious of rhythm, unity and harmony, and these physical properties work upon our nerves. But they do not agitate them so much as soothe them, It is better described as a state of wonder or admiration—more exactly a state of recognition. Our homage to an artist is an homage to a man who by his special gifts has solved our emotional problems for us." Art, said Aristotle, purges us through pity and fear. It has a kathartic quality.

Art elevates. It enlarges human understanding

and sympathies, widens human vision, deepens human sensibilities liberates the mind by relating our finite selves to the infinite and by transporting it to a world of harmony and order Spiritually, man abhors chaos, disorder and ugliness He is not happy in conditions of confusion, untruth, and distortion In his heart burns a deathless desire for perfection and for transcending his own limitations Art feeds the soul of man

Moreover, human beings are terribly weighed down by their own consciousness They are too much involved in their own tremendous trifles Man's sorrows and his joys, his hopes and his ambitions, his aspirations and his fears—all these form the basic stuff of life In this respect man is a prisoner to these natural urges—like the prisoner of Chillon who was denied the pleasure of sharing and being one with the vaster and profounder, and more limitless and apacious world of plains and sky Art is like the magic casement through which man can have glimpses of the endlessness and the limitlessness It brings man's soul into contact with a world of new dimensions or rather a world of no dimensions—a world of Beauty, Truth and Goodness Art heightens our sense of beauty deepens our faith in goodness and steel our soul to stand by the truth

(II)

satyam, shivam, sundaram

We said art transmits understanding But understanding of what?—Of the Truth, the Beautiful and the Good which lies at the core of things and is, in fact, immanent in them The greater the element of Truth, the deeper the perception of Beauty and the nobler the conception of Good any piece of art transmits, the greater its permanence and value Art is man's triumph over death, decadence and dissolution It assists man to transcend the limitation of time and space Man can triumph over nature by being creative—and art is an expression of man's creative

will, which has been rightly called, 'will to form' by Herbert Read 'The ultimate values of art transcend the individual and his time and circumstances. They express an ideal in expressing his intuition the artist will use materials placed in the hand by the circumstances of his Time'

Man's will-to form is irrepressible—he must express himself. He cannot help it. If he lives in caves, surrounded by the hard, impervious, and cold rocks, he will scratch at them and satisfy his will to form. He will paint on canvas or decorate a temple or cathedral or carve out frescoes or hew out gods out of stones. He accepts any condition, so long as they can be used to express his "will-to-form" in order to express the eternal verities—the True, the Good and the Beautiful

truth

"Art is many sided modification and extension of reality"¹ It is not a photographic representation of reality. Aristotle calls art imitation of nature—mimesis—it is not resemblance—and this imitation or recreation or modification and extension—whatever one may prefer to call artistic expression of truth—differs with different media. 'The medium of painting may be prescribed as surface form, mass and colour, of sculpture form in three dimension and substance, of music, rhythm and tone and timbre, of dancing figures in motion. To make art, some real thing, or some addition to thing or some addition to things of reality, must be translated into one of these or similar media. The anchor of a ship is not a thing of art, but an anchor cast in gold or carved in cocoa nut is art. A familiar face is not art but its portrait is. The cry of a bird is not a thing of art, but a succession of sounds by no means identical with the sounds of the bird's cry, but suitable to some musical progression, suggests the thought of a bird, such a representation becomes art. In each case, there is no art unless the mind recognizes in what is before it a representation and not a reality'² Reality is modified and

extended by a process of selection made according to the artist's conception of the Truth, and the Beautiful and the Good. Selection does not imply picking and choosing. Reality is "filtered and deodorized" while passing through the mind of the artist. Horror on the stage is agreeable but it is frightening if the person is actually killed. Art is not therefore concerned with reality as such, because as the Greeks rightly believed "reality is an imperfect representation of eternal ideas." Art takes up these imperfections and purifies them and brings them nearer to the ideal, the true.

But the question arises how does the reality get modified and extended? By imagination. Imagination is a creative faculty in art. It modifies and extends reality. It recreates. It operates upon the reality and transforms it by purging it of its disorder, imperfection and ugliness. Art is idealization.

Truth is not fact. These two are different things. Fact is not Truth although it can be made into truth. Truth is general. 'The opposite of truth is false and that of a fact is another fact.' Facts are raw material which by generalization can be manufactured into truth. The popular epigram has it that there are three degrees of lying: positive, white lies, comparative black lies, superlative, statistics. Statistics are facts, and it is easy to conceive a large body of statistics, all correct as facts, which in the hands of a politician may be worked into monstrous falsehood.' Artistic truth is our emotional apprehension of fact. It is that which touches the essence. Art represents the universal, something that ought to be and not what is. It disposes off the trivial and the accidental elements of reality to which the artist has no allegiance as such.

Art does not develop in vacuum. Art is rooted in life. It is nourished by it. It is made of the stuff of which life is made of. The joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears, the doubt and faiths, the conflicts and contradictions, the pathos and agony, frustration, sense of sin

and sense of exultation—these form the raw material of all art. Even the “dirt and dross” the “dust and the scum” can be its theme. In fact, the modern artist, unlike his predecessors, is particularly concerned with this aspect.

Mine be a hand full of ashes, a mouthful of mould

Of the maimed, of the halt, of the blind in the rain
and cold

Of these shall my songs be fashioned my tales be told *

But realism should not degenerate into obscenity. It should not be understood to mean sensuality, horridness and banality. Art may aspire to expose the tragedy of human situation and ugliness of our social arrangements. It may seek to rip open the utter hypocrisy and folly of human beings and their vanities. But realism—photographic realism—unsupported by a deeper perception of beauty and goodness inherent in life is not art. A sense of beauty, a nobility of values, and a nobler vision of life must inform any work of art. Truth and Beauty in art are inseparable. In fact, they are one, “Beauty is truth and truth, Beauty”

To see things in their beauty is to see things in their Truth. What the wise imagination seizes as beauty must be Truth. It means Beauty is truth arrived at through intuitive perception and intellectualised imagination—an imagination weighted with thought and judgment. The excellence of all art is its intensity, capable of making all disagreeableness evaporate from their being in close relationship with Beauty and Truth.

For example, the poem “Greecian Urn” by Keats. In this poem the external does not constitute the main interest of the poet. The Urn suggests something deeper. The imaginative eye peers through the outer form and the poet's heart was stirred by imaginative picture of Greek life. The poet describes a series of pictures or scenes that he imagines must have formed the basis of the life of an artist at work and then he

gives us his own definition of a growing art. The Urn is a transparent glass a powerful lense through which there is revealed a miniature peagent of the past merging into the present. The tiny verities of the old ages, as perceived, interpreted, and presented in this piece of art, whisper into Keats' imagination and sets it a flame—a sense of discovery of truth follows an intensity of speculation and then he sees not a moral or religious idea but a principle of existence, a law of life, and insight into the universal heart of man. To Keats, Truth arrived at, through emotionalized imaginative perception, is Beauty and beauty is Truth.

I can never conceive of Truth except through a clear conception of its Beauty—its imaginative reality. Keats can not see how we can arrive at Truth by reason. It is through beauty you can realise Truth. The roads to Beauty and Truth are the same ' *.

But what is Beauty? Is it really an essential attribute of art? Rabindra Nath said that beauty is that which gives joy without any sense of utility'. It is disembodied joy. In the experience of ordinary delight there is the satisfaction of getting something, realization of some fulfilment. But there may be some kind of desire or want also associated with the delight of beauty. But this feeling of want is very much internal. * Aesthetic pleasure is not due to fulfilment of a desire or need.

But Herbert Read considers beauty as unity of formal relations among our sense perception. It is a very fluctuating phenomena which finds diverse expression at different places at different times. Primitive art is as good and as authentic expression of beauty as Gothic or classical or modern.

Art and beauty are not necessarily identical. Art is not necessarily beauty. All that is beautiful is not art. There is a stage upto which art and beauty are related. Beauty is the elementary basis of artistic activity. The artist perceives the material qualities—colours,

sounds gestures and many more complex and unde-
fined physical reactions. He then arranges these per-
ceptions into pleasing shapes and patterns. The
aesthetic sense ends at the stage. But when the artist
goes further and works to make this perception corres-
pond with a previously existing state of emotion or
feeling, then we say that the emotion or feeling is
given expression. In other words, the expression is a
final process depending upon the preceding processes
of sensuous perception and formal arrangement. Thus
we find that beauty is related to art upto the level of
sense perception. But art can go beyond it also and
it seeks to express feeling once evoked in the heart of
the artist. The ultimate purpose of art is the com-
munication of feelings.

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